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ALEXANDER JOE/AFP

Conflagration in Mogadishu
US gunships again attacked sites controlled by warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed on Wednesday night, and yesterday sought to arrest him. Above, Somalis extinguished flames at a depot bombed last weekend. **PAGE 7.**

Croatia Is Tense As Local Serbs Vote on Secession

Tudjman regime tightens grip under pressure to retain territory, support Bosnian Croats

By Jonathan S. Landay
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ZAGREB, CROATIA

PRESIDENT Franjo Tudjman of Croatia faces grave problems in his efforts to build a viable state, which observers say includes a carve-up with Serbia of war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina. As a result, he is becoming increasingly authoritarian.

Well-armed Serbs remain entrenched in their territories in Croatia, defying the terms of the accord that ended the seven-month war. They control 35 percent of Croatia and now plan to hold a weekend referendum on uniting their territory with Serb-controlled areas in Bosnia.

Further, a feud is raging within Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union (known by the initials HDZ) on how to regain those territories, with powerful hard-liners advocating military force.

Tudjman's Bosnian Croat proxies, meanwhile, have suffered territorial losses to their former Bosnian Army allies in fighting in central Bosnia.

Croatia also faces economic sanctions if the Bosnian Croats renew the attacks. The country's economy already is in a serious crisis. Inflation is running at 1 percent a day and unemployment at 20 percent. Production is sputtering, and government debt is widening, fueled by arms spending and the burden of some 750,000 refugees from Bosnia and Serb-held areas of Croatia.

"Tudjman is in an extremely difficult position," says Branko Horvat, an economist and head of the Social Democratic Party.

Even so, most analysts argue that Tudjman retains the grudging support of a majority of Croats

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As 'Good' Jobs Become 'Bad' Jobs, Congress Takes a Closer Look

Senator sees 'alarming implications' in rise of 'contingent' workers

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THERE are good jobs and there are bad jobs. Lately, millions of Americans are ending up with the bad jobs – no benefits, no security, low pay.

One of them was Wendy Perkins, who lost her position as a stockbroker in Beverly Hills, Calif., in the late 1980s, and suddenly found herself on a rapidly-declining financial escalator.

Desperate for income, Ms. Perkins worked as a part-time receptionist ($6-an-hour), clerked in a retail store, sold her car to raise cash, and began house-sitting to keep a roof over her head. Most of her personal belongings were lost when she could not pay the storage fees.

Congress now is taking an interest in people like Perkins. Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D) of Ohio says the number of "contingent workers" like her without full-time, steady jobs has grown to 25 percent of the labor force, and could rise to 50 percent by 2000.

Senator Metzenbaum warns: "This trend has alarming implications for working men and women in this country, for our standard of living, and for our economy as a whole."

The rise of a contingent work force is not well documented or understood, even by labor experts. The government's Bureau of Labor Statistics tracks part-time, temporary, and self-employed workers. But BLS economists admit there are no good data on a new class of workers who scramble frantically from job

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Serbs, Croats Pitch a Plan To Chop War-Torn Bosnia Into Three Ethnic States

By Lucia Mouat
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

SERB and Croat leaders think they have a good answer to the long search for a fair and workable peace accord in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The crucial question is whether or not the Bosnian Muslims would ever agree to it.

After a Wednesday meeting in Geneva called by United Nations and European Community mediators Thorvald Stoltenberg and Lord David Owen, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said a consensus was emerging that Bosnia should become a federal state of three parts.

He said that Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, who had left the meeting early to protest continued Bosnian Serb shelling of the eastern Muslim enclave of Gorazde, planned to consult with his government. The leaders are to meet again next Wednesday.

Under the plan, Bosnian Muslims would get the territory

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- Thirty years of war forced 750,000 Eritreans to flee. Now the expatriates are returning to build a new country. **Monday.**
- In Part 3 of a report on indigenous people, an Indian fights for land in Ecuador, and villagers protect their rain forest. **Wednesday.**
- It would be the best seat in the ballpark – except the view is through a one-by-nine-inch slit: Life inside the Red Sox scoreboard. **Friday.**

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An exhibition of art and artifacts from the French Empire is on display in Memphis, Tenn.
10

House Passes Foreign Aid, Bill Moves On to Senate

THE $9.4 billion foreign-aid bill passed the House by a voice vote Wednesday after supporters beat back a slew of parliamentary and verbal attacks on foreign aid in general and aid to Russia in particular. Rep. Robert Torricelli (D) of New Jersey opposed the bill because it did not specify that United States ships would haul foreign aid abroad. Other congressmen said that Russia should pay for its $900 million in aid with its oil and other natural resources.

Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R) of New York tried to install a "sunset" amendment that would require the Agency for International Development (AID), core of the foreign-assistance program with its $6.8 billion annual budget, to disappear at the end of the 1994 fiscal year and replace itself with a leaner aid system.

Opponents said they got no mail in support of foreign aid, and also that Americans needed help at home. One woman asked for a set percentage of foreign-aid purchases to go to American minority contractors. Dan Burton (R) of Indiana said that none of the developing countries getting US aid in the past 30 years has become developed.

But the new administrator of AID, J. Brian Atwood, said in an interview before the debate that several countries have indeed graduated from US foreign-aid dependency: Taiwan, Korea, Mauritius, Thailand, and Costa Rica.

WASHINGTON WATCH

Defenders of the foreign-aid program insisted in the House debate that Americans benefit from the aid twice: by selling to the government the materials and expertise shipped abroad and by subsequent sales to the third world as demand develops.

But bowing to a spate of negative press reports about AID's inefficiencies and several studies that recommended reforming its bureaucracy, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Lee Hamilton (D) of Indiana, slapped on his own "sunset" amendment requiring AID to cease to exist by September 1995 unless it wins congressional approval for promised reforms. He pointed out that the bill is $600 million leaner than last year's.

Following the voice vote approving the authorization of the foreign-aid budget Wednesday, Mr. Atwood told the Monitor that he was "encouraged" by the vote and "passage of the bill shows a strong, positive bipartisan concern for the reform of AID."

Mr. Hamilton said the bill "advances our economic interests and creates jobs" as well as furthering "important US foreign policy goals in the former Soviet Union and the Middle East."

But passing the House is not enough. The bill now goes to the Senate, then to a conference committee, and back to both houses before a likely presidential signature. No foreign-aid bill since 1985 has passed all those pitfalls, although foreign aid continued to flow under other legislation.

■ *Ben Barber reports from Washington.*

Campaign-spending bill freed from filibuster

An alliance of Democrats and moderate Republicans crushed a Senate GOP filibuster Wednesday, virtually ensuring Senate passage of a campaign-spending bill designed to curtail special-interest clout in Congress. The measure, which would radically change the rules for congressional races, includes authority to use public financing. It sets voluntary spending limits to make challengers more competitive. And it prohibits contributions by political action committees run by corporations, labor unions, and other special interests.

The bill would control overall campaign financing and reduce the influence of money in deciding elections. Supporters and opponents agreed that it would be passed and sent to the House.

– Compiled by David Mutch

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NATIONAL

AFP/FILE

NEW YORK CITY: *Pro-choice activists march down Fifth Avenue in front of anti-abortion demonstrators. Since the Supreme Court nominee is pro-choice, some congressmen say legislation codifying Roe v. Wade is unnecessary.*

Ginsburg Nomination Raises Hurdles for Abortion-Rights Bill

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE nomination of Ruth Bader Ginsburg to the Supreme Court may have a slight dampening effect on Congress's ability to complete legislation that would guarantee a woman's right to abortion.

As an abortion-rights advocate, Judge Ginsburg would add a vote to the high court's 5-4 majority supporting the 1973 Roe v. Wade ruling establishing abortion as a fundamental right. Therefore, federal legislation aimed at codifying Roe is not needed, argue members who would rather not vote on the sticky issue.

The focus on the legislation, called the Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA), is in the House of Representatives, where it survived a battle in the Judiciary Committee and awaits floor action. On Tuesday, members who advocate the bill started "whipping," or lobbying, fellow members on FOCA.

"There was one member who said to me: 'Well, I was for Roe v. Wade freedom of choice, as long as it was in jeopardy, but since it's not in jeopardy I don't see any reason to bring it up,' which kind of stunned me," says Rep. Pat Schroeder (D) of Colorado.

The irony is that abortion-rights advocates are wary about Ginsburg's commitment to the Roe v. Wade ruling. She has taken issue with the argument that led the court to Roe, preferring that it was based on equality rather than privacy rights.

Abortion-rights advocates were cautiously positive about Ginsburg's nomination Monday, saying they hoped her confirmation hearings will flesh out her stand on laws restricting abortion, such as 24-hour waiting periods. In a recent speech at New York University, she appeared to praise the Supreme Court's 1992 ruling Planned Parenthood v. Casey, which allowed a series of regulations on abortion, for "renew[ing] dialogue" between states and the court. It is those same restrictions that FOCA advocates fought hard to keep out of the bill when it was in the House Judiciary Committee.

ABORTION-RIGHTS supporters hoped whoever President Clinton selected would join the two sitting justices who favor a "strict scrutiny" standard in assessing abortion-restriction laws. They fear Ginsburg will position herself more with the three justices in the middle, who favor a lesser standard.

On FOCA, supporters are fighting to send the bill to the House floor with as limited a "rule" as possible – that is, one restricting debate and the number of amendments that can be proposed. FOCA's foes are hoping to kill it with amendments, such as waiting periods and restrictions on who can perform abortions. They know FOCA supporters would rather have no FOCA than a restriction-laden FOCA.

The "Ginsburg excuse" is just the latest in a series of ways some members of Congress – those who, when pushed, tend to vote pro-choice but are not adamantly so – are trying to avoid dealing with FOCA. Abortion foes will use any pro-FOCA votes against members in the next election in an effort to paint them as extremists who favor abortion at any time in a pregnancy for even frivolous reasons.

"It is silly for anyone to think Ginsburg's nomination to the court is somehow going to resolve the need to protect women on the federal level," says Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion Rights Action League. "The court has gone sharply against this right over the last 12 years. Only two support Roe, and it will take years before we can restore the highest level of protection. So they must pass FOCA."

Another abortion-rights advocate speaks with frustration about the "excuse du jour" that lawmakers toss out in an effort to avoid a FOCA vote. Last year, Republicans said it would embarrass President Bush during his campaign. Earlier this year, Democrats said they needed to focus their strength on Clinton's economic package. Then they said they wanted to save their clout for health care, where the abortion issue will also be tricky.

FOCA advocates already feel they've conceded enough, allowing additions to the bill that state that unwilling individuals or private hospitals may refuse to perform abortions as a matter of conscience and that states may enact legislation requiring parental involvement in a minor's abortion.

Senate Gives Clinton Budget Plan a Lift

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton's budget marathon still has many miles to run.

Despite a deal struck in the Senate Finance Committee, the president's heavily revised budget faces major tests. Analysts predict a long, contentious summer on Capitol Hill when the liberal House and the more conservative Senate try to hammer out crucial differences.

In the Senate, members will balk at any House effort to restore the controversial, $71.5-billion Btu tax on energy. Senators call the Btu tax a job-killer, and scaled it back sharply to a 4.3-cent-per-gallon tax on transportation fuels.

In the House, liberal Democrats are expected to oppose a Senate Finance Committee recommendation that another $19 billion be cut in Medicare spending on top of $49 billion in previous reductions. Nor will the House like the senators' decision to reduce outlays for the earned-income tax for the working poor from $29.3 billion to $20 billion.

The Senate committee's budget deal momentarily overshadowed all these looming problems. Wall Street stocks rallied at the news. The dollar gained strength overseas against the German mark. The value of 30-year Treasury bonds rose. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen said: "I am pleased [the Democrats] agreed on legislation that meets – and even exceeds – the president's request."

At the embattled White House, the Senate deal provided a welcome respite. Clinton got other good news as well. The Senate broke a lengthy filibuster that was blocking White House-supported, campaign-finance reform. The same day, House and Senate committees approved, without significant changes, Clinton's national service program to help students pay for college.

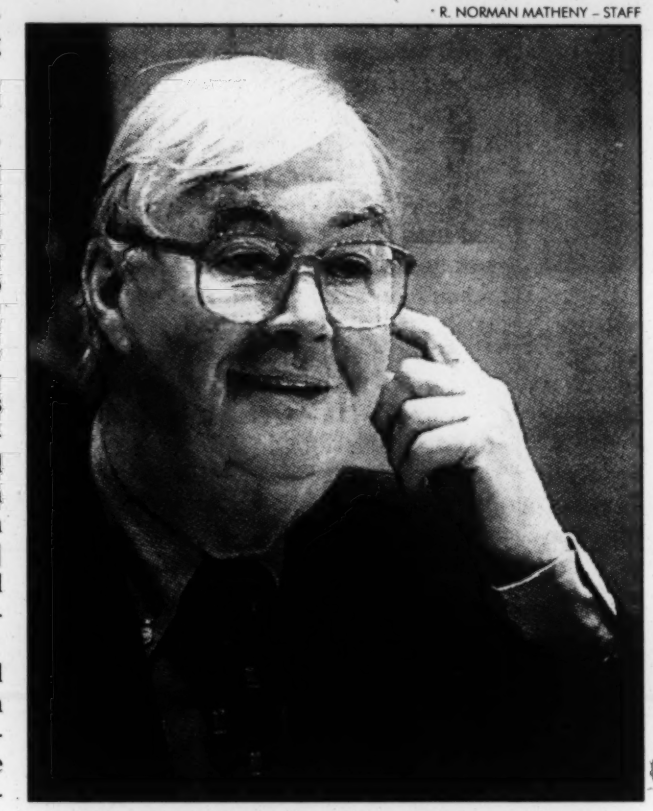
On the budget deal, White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said: "As long as the process moves forward and maintains $500 billion in deficit reduction [and] it's fair [and] there is a broad-based energy tax," the president will be pleased.

Yet the broad-based energy tax that Clinton wanted was clearly missing from the Senate package. Under pressure from Westerners (who drive long distances), manufacturers (who claimed the tax would hurt exports), and the energy industry, the Senate version includes only the tax on gasoline, diesel oil, jet fuel, and other transportation fuels, plus a tax on pipelines. Total take: less than $24 billion.

There were other significant changes emerging in the Senate, and Clinton may find some of them hard to accept.

The Senate Finance Committee would delay until July 1 the increase in taxes on upper-income individuals and big businesses. Clinton and the House wanted the new taxes retroactive to Jan. 1, 1993.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



SEN. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN: *The chairman of the Senate Finance Committee hailed the committee's compromise as a milestone in the US tax system.*

The president wants a 10 percent surtax on individuals earning over $250,000. The Senate committee, trying to make up for lost energy taxes, expanded the surtax on wealthy individuals to include capital gains, which would now be taxed at 30.8 percent, up from 28 percent.

Senators eased Clinton's proposed taxes on some Social Security recipients. Under their plan, taxes would be boosted only on Social Security retirees with total incomes, including half their Social Security income, over $32,000 ($40,000 for couples). In the House version, it is $25,000 for individuals, $32,000 for couples.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D) of New York, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, needed a unanimous Democratic vote to strike a deal, since his party holds only an 11-to-9 majority. Every Republican on the committee opposes the Clinton budget.

Senator Moynihan, perhaps sensing opposition in the House, praised his committee's compromise as "the most progressive change in our tax system to take place since the 1940s."

Although Clinton lost his Btu tax in the Senate committee, some analysts suggest he is still on course toward a lower budget deficit. A few losses here and there are to be expected, they say.

Roger Porter, who was an adviser in the Bush White House, says the Senate committee's deal helps Clinton "live to fight another day." Clinton also got it without making too many promises. As Mr. Porter notes:

"This will give him a much freer hand in conference because he's not tied to particulars in the Senate the way he was in the House."

Meanwhile, Clinton finally appears to be getting help from the economy in his war against the deficit.

US companies added 209,000 jobs in April, and another 216,000 in May – the first such consecutive monthly gains in over three years. Every new wage-earner adds to the tax rolls, and cuts the government deficit. Further, a McGraw-Hill survey of 20 economists predicts 3 percent annual growth through 1994. If true, that will add jobs at a steady clip, and enrich the Treasury.

Wide-Ranging Lobbying Saves 'Radio Free' Programs

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE policymaking process was convoluted and drawn-out. Special interests heavily influenced the outcome. But in the end President Clinton made a decision widely hailed as a fair compromise.

The decision in question was not the budget or a Supreme Court nominee, but a little-noticed announcement that will shape the future of United States international broadcasting for years to come.

Earlier this week, President Clinton declared that he wants to keep Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) independent of US editorial control, but merge some of their technical functions with the US Information Agency's Voice of America (VOA). He also said he wants to create a new Asian Democracy Radio (ADR) to broadcast to China. And Mr. Clinton called for a new Board of Governors to guarantee the editorial independence not only of these radio stations but also of VOA.

This represents a significant change from the president's February budget, which called for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty to be phased out and left open the question of whether ADR would become part of the VOA. Top administration officials, then new to office, barely noticed the move. It was made by analysts at the Office of Management and Budget, who saw phasing out RFE/RL's $250 million budget as a sensible deficit-fighting step.

What the numbers-crunchers didn't count on was one of the most unusual, and effective, lobbying campaigns Washington has seen in recent years. The chief advocates for the radio stations are current and former members of the Board of International Broadcasting, which oversees their operations. The board's all-star lineup has included union leader Lane Kirkland, columnist Ben Wattenberg, author James Mitchener, and publisher Steve Forbes.

"We have no self-interest in preserving the radios," Mr. Wattenberg says. "But many of us came to understand that these radios are really important items in our democratic arsenal."

The board members produced a stream of editorials and phone calls, and recruited other supporters, from columnist George Will to Sen. Joseph Biden (D) of Delaware. Perhaps the most effective advocates were foreign leaders such as Vaclav Havel, Lech Walesa, and Mikhail Gorbachev, who declared that the stations are essential for nurturing democracy in Eastern Europe. To get that message out, Freedom House, a human-rights watch-dog group, placed advertisements in several publications.

ON the other side of the issue were the State Department and the US Information Agency, which have an institutional interest in minimizing the radios' budget to preserve funding for their own programs. But the agencies were handicapped because, until recently, few Clinton appointees were confirmed and career employees are prohibited from lobbying.

The leader of the anti-RFE/RL campaign became Tom Korologos, a Republican lobbyist who heads the USIA's Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. He argued that the stations are unnecessary since Eastern Europe has gone democratic and the US is friendly with China. But he admits he had a hard time making that case with much of the "foreign policy establishment" arrayed against him.

"The lobbying [on behalf of the stations] certainly played a role in the debate," admits a senior administration official. The White House began to back off the original decision by setting up an interagency task force to review the issue. But the task force proved too large and unwieldy. So Dan Mica, a former congressmen who heads the Board on International Broadcasting, decided to open direct negotiations with Joseph Duffy, who by then had been nominated to run USIA.

Two weeks ago, they took an interim solution to President Clinton, who asked for some minor changes. They handed the revised version to the president last weekend, and he signed off on it.

Both sides get something: Opponents are gratified by about $250 million in cost-savings from consolidations, while supporters are happy to see the stations preserve their independence.

"It's a real administration achievement in reinventing government," says a Senate staff member. "They've got some budget savings, reorganized existing institutions, and preserved the best of all of them."

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because of his success in winning independence and the continued Serbian threat.

"There is no political alternative," says Slaven Letica, a former senior adviser to Tudjman.

But analysts say Tudjman, like his counterpart in Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, will be compelled by his growing problems to continue tightening his grip on power. They point to his refusal to reform the communist-style economy, the closure or takeover of all important media, restrictions on political freedom, and the sedition trial this week of a far-right opposition leader.

"Tudjman is entering a situation in which whatever he does will be bad," says Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, head of the tiny Croatian Peasants Party.

Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks, regarded as a key leader of the HDZ's extreme nationalist wing, acknowledges that the regime is under "enormous pressure." Mr. Seks reiterates Zagreb's dedication to an internationally brokered return of Serb-held territories inside Croatia. He says it would agree to renew on June 20 the mandate of the United Nations peacekeeping force deployed to protect Serb-held regions under the 1991 cease-fire accord.

But Seks warns that should international diplomacy fail, Zagreb would have to resort to military force to regain the self-declared "Republic of Serbian Krajina."

"There is growing pressure for the second option," Seks says.

That pressure will mount with the certain approval by Serbs this weekend of an internationally condemned referendum on joining their self-declared state with that of the Bosnian Serbs.

Denouncing the referendum as an absurdity, Seks denies that Croatia will launch an offensive to derail the latest Milosevic-orchestrated step toward the unification of all Serb-controlled areas of former Yugoslavia in a so-called "Great Serbia."

In fact, many observers doubt Croatia is militarily capable of defeating the Serbs. They believe Tudjman wants to avoid another war with the Serbs and rely on international negotiations to win a settlement that would grant significant autonomy to Serb-held areas in return for recognition that they were part of Croatia.

But to focus world attention on Croatia, sources say, Tudjman must first obtain peace in Bosnia, where his alliance with the Muslims lasted only while there was a threat of international intervention against the Bosnian Serbs.

STAFF

When those threats proved hollow, Tudjman and his Bosnian Croat proxies broke with the Bosnian Muslim, backed away from the Vance-Owen peace plan, and are now discussing with the Bosnian Serbs a proposal to divide Bosnia into three separate ethnic mini-states.

But even if the Muslim-led Bosnian government were to agree – which is unlikely – to an ethnic division of Bosnia, Tudjman will be hard-pressed to regain control of the Serb-held areas of his own country.

A territorial tradeoff would be political suicide, and given the failure of Western diplomacy in Bosnia, Tudjman can expect little effective international help and no compromise from the Serbs.

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around Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, and Bihac. Croatia, President Tudjman said, would give the Muslims access to the Adriatic port of Ploce.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said he was willing to turn back some land under his control as a "sacrifice" for peace. Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic called the day's efforts "a substantial step toward peace."

But President Izetbegovic recently has urged UN diplomats and world leaders to step up their support for the so-called Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia, the original international peace plan that would create 10 semi-autonomous provinces in Bosnia. Each ethnic group would have a dominant role in three provinces. Sarajevo would be jointly administered. The new plan would eclipse Vance-Owen.

Early word after the Wednesday meeting was that the Bosnian leader intends to proceed with a planned trip to European capitals to urge a partial lifting of the UN arms embargo against Bosnia.

The Swiss meeting, held in a villa just outside Geneva, was cloaked in an unusual degree of secrecy. At a press conference the day before, however, Lord Owen stressed there would be no carve-up of Bosnia. "The world community will not accept this." He hinted there might be some adjustments to the Vance-Owen plan, however, such as a reduction in the number of provinces.

"The plan is not necessarily a static thing," explains John Mills, a spokesman for the mediators in Geneva. "It's a process which is the basis of the discussions."

Some analysts have long argued that the Vance-Owen plan could never work. Hatred among ethnic groups is too strong, they said. Whatever its failings, the plan has never won the support of Bosnian Serbs. UN economic sanctions against the rump Yugoslav union of Serbia and Montenegro were only somewhat persuasive in pressuring the Serbs.

Bosnian Serb military leaders continued their fight for more land and now control roughly 70 percent of Bosnia. The Vance-Owen plan would roll them back to 43 percent. Yet the major powers in the UN Security Council have been unwilling to use military muscle, through more ground forces and air-to-ground strikes, to try to force Bosnian Serbs to accept the plan.

"There's no reason for them to accept anything less than what they have already," comments V. P. Gagnon Jr., an expert in Yugoslav politics and visiting scholar at Stanford University's Hoover Institution. "They know the outside world isn't going to do anything.... You need to have a consistent, credible threat over time."

THE UN Security Council's latest effort to save lives and encourage peace in Bosnia is a plan to protect six Muslim enclaves with ground forces and air power. The Bosnian Muslims and nonaligned members of the Council say, however, that the "safe havens" plan could create Muslim refugee camps. Some analysts blame the plan for intensified fighting between Croats and Muslims who assumed the plan implied acceptance of Serb land conquests.

Getting sufficient troops to the six cities fast enough to meet the needs of trapped refugees is proving a major challenge for the UN. Russia, for instance, says it will supply troops only if the plan is clearly linked to long-term peace efforts.

For now many UN diplomats just hope that the latest cease-fire, scheduled to take effect today, will hold. So many past accords have collapsed. Lord Owen says he has always believed that broad political agreement is necessary to have any lasting cease-fire. Time will tell if he is right.

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to job, often without any benefits, and with a growing sense of insecurity.

Richard Delaney, a representative of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (AFL-CIO) says such workers are multiplying rapidly. He points to employees at Bank of America, the nation's second largest bank.

In testimony this week before a Senate Labor and Human Resources subcommittee, Mr. Delaney said a work force overhaul at the bank has taken a heavy human toll. Thousands of bank employees were transferred into "part-time and temporary jobs with no job security and little or no benefits," he told the senators.

Delaney cited examples, including a 14-year bank employee whose hours were cut from 30 per week to 19. He said: "This woman had worked a second job at a convenience mart to supplement her low wages. After the cut in hours at the bank, her second job became her primary job."

Peter Magnani, a spokesman for Bank of America, says the effects of recent changes there are being "wildly exaggerated." He says the restructuring was necessary to meet customer needs. The 28,000 branch employees of BA now work hours similar to those in a retail store, including Sundays, rather than a regular Monday-to-Friday schedule.

Magnani confirms that the number of full-time employees was reduced – from 28 percent of the branch staff in April 1992, to 19 percent this year. Full-timers who lost their jobs got generous severance packages, and were also permitted to keep working part-time while they looked for another full-time post, he says.

But Magnani concedes: "In terms of long-term trends, it is fair to say we have participated in the trend in our industry to have more hourly and part-time employees."

Businessmen, too, can be hurt by such restructuring. Michael Hobbs, a custom home builder in New Canaan, Conn., complains that to cut costs, some of his competitors are replacing full-time workers with "independent contractors," who are actually the same employees under a new designation.

"We lose a lot of jobs to competitors who cheat," he told the senators. Hobbs noted that the going price for a carpenter in Western Connecticut is $27.78 an hour, including wages ($17.80), fringes ($3), Social Security ($1.33), workers' compensation (4.57), and unemployment taxes ($1.08).

Competitors using independent contractors pay just $8 an hour, and avoid paying all benefits and taxes, Hobbs says.

Yet solutions won't be easy. Companies are desperate to cut costs. Competition is fierce. Survival is the watchword. Employees often seem expendable.

Metzenbaum says: "I don't have a legislative solution.... But I think something has to be done, and the committee will be receptive to any ideas that anybody has."

Meanwhile, some displaced workers are finding their own niche. One is Perkins, who is now promoting her book, "Temporarily Yours," documenting cases of abuse of "temp" workers.

DAVE HERRING – STAFF

Comparison of Full- and Part-Time Workers

Part-time workers receive significantly lower salaries and benefits than full-time workers.

	Average hourly earnings*	Health care provided by employer**	Pensions provided by employer**
Full-time workers	$8.67	65%	46%
Part-time workers	$5.40	15%	10%

*1992 **1991

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics; General Accounting Office

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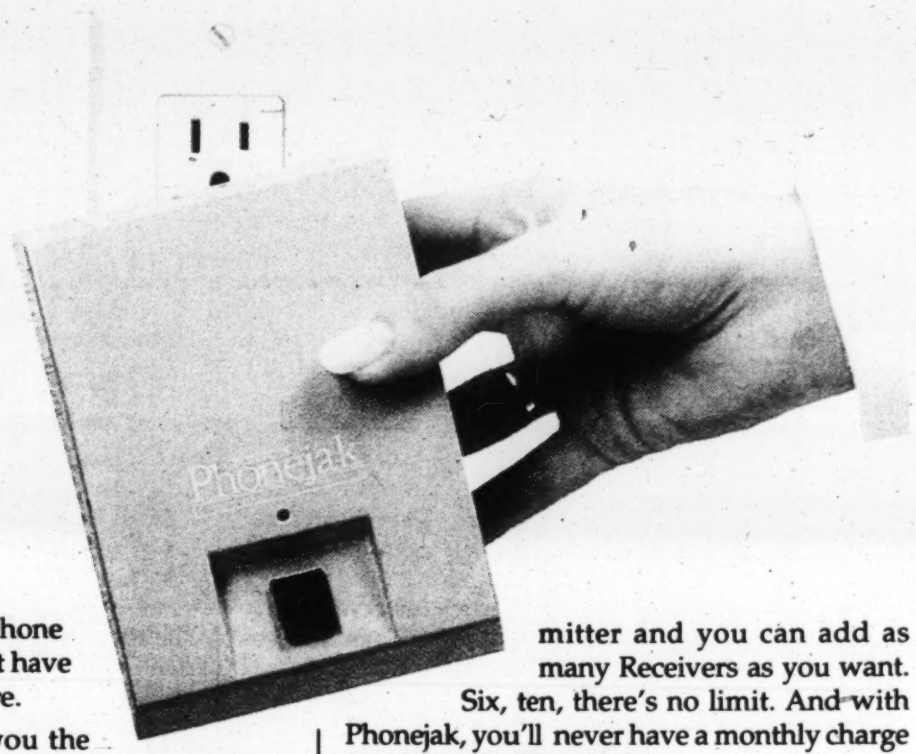

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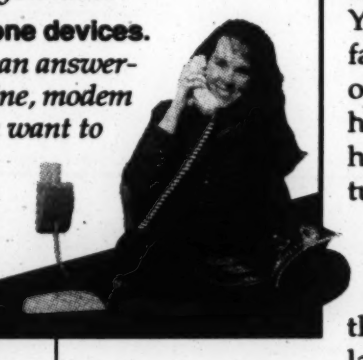

Phonejak gives you the freedom of cordless telephone technology, without the cordless phone. Unlike cordless phones which transmit radio waves through the air, the Phonejak uses your home's electrical wiring to transmit signals, giving you sound quality which far exceeds that of cordless phones.

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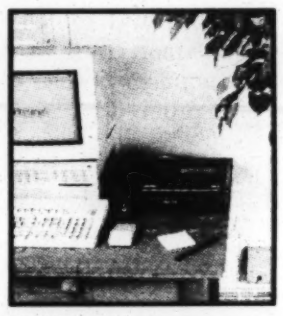

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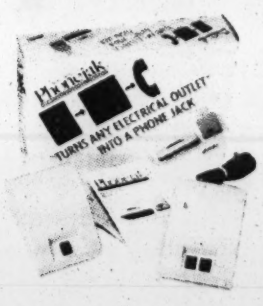


The Phonejak System. *Includes a transmitter (right) and a receiver (left).*

With the Receivers in place you're ready to add phones anywhere around your home -for a lot less money and hassle than calling the phone company!

MILITARY MAY NOT LEAVE POWER

Elections Suspended, Nigerians Again Find Democracy in Peril

By Paul Adams
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LAGOS, NIGERIA

NIGERIANS of various political stripes yesterday condemned the suspension of the country's elections as attention focused on the challenge to the electoral process.

Officials of the losing party shelved their allegations of vote fraud, supporting the apparently victorious Moshood Abiola of the Social Democratic Party (SDP). "This issue cuts across party lines," a senior official of the losing National Republican Convention (NRC) said. "It's a question of democracy."

Both parties were created by the military regime of President Ibrahim Babangida as part of his long and halting attempt to replace military rule with a democratic government. But three times in three years General Babangida's administration has aborted handing over the government to civilian rule, either because the country was not ready, or because politicians were accused of vote-rigging.

The latest attempt at a democratic transition seems to be fading over a legal technicality. The country's National Electoral Commission (NEC) suspended the outcome of the polls Wednesday, bowing to a court injunction restraining it from announcing what everyone here believes to be true: that Mr. Abiola's SDP won a generally fair election.

Despite a decree passed by Babangida in April giving the NEC complete control over the elections regardless of court actions, on June 10 the high court issued an injunction ordering the NEC chairman Humphrey Nwosu not to hold the elections. On June 16, the court ordered Mr. Nwosu not to publish the final results of the polls.

"The NEC is being manipulated by the authorities," said SDP spokesman Amos Idakula. "The same government which drafted that decree is restraining it from fulfilling its duty. The decree should serve the purpose for which it was made – to hold the elections."

An NRC supporter said after the suspension, "They are not my party, but the SDP won fairly. Abiola should be given his chance. People are tired of the military, and they want this man for better or worse."

Perhaps colored by past experience, the public reaction to the suspension was placid.

"Two years ago, if you had told me this would happen in Nigeria, I would have said no – only in Uganda or Ghana can they get away with things like that," a Lagos businessman said yesterday. "But now we have had so many delays and changes of candidates that people have become docile."

"Since the last postponement of the elections, there has been a lot of apathy among the public," observes a community leader in the mainly Muslim north.

"The parties have no grass-roots support," the leader adds. "They are imposed by the government, and neither of the two candidates inspires much confidence. People here don't care much whether it's [NRC presidential candidate Bashir] Tofa or Abiola, they just want to see a change."

The SDP had won a clear, though unconfirmed, victory in Saturday's polls over the NRC in an election that was well-run and fair in most parts of Africa's most populous nation. Foreign observers in most states of the country witnessed no serious problems and both parties were able to monitor the whole process at 106,000 polling booths and at collation sites in the capital of Abuja. It was not until Wednesday, when the NEC was ready to publish all but three of 30 states' results that the NRC cried foul.

The expected president elect, Abiola, has remained in his house in Lagos throughout the stop-and-go five days and has appealed to Nigerians to stay calm. "Of course he is a bit low," said one of his close aides, "but he is not taking it lying down."

The NEC is seeking an accelerated appeal in Kaduna, a large town in the north, to overrule the earlier injunction, and allow it to complete the elections.

INTERNATIONAL

Russia, Ukraine Agree To Split Black Sea Fleet

Yeltsin promises security guarantees; Kravchuk faces referendum

By Daniel Sneider
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

RUSSIAN President Boris Yeltsin and his Ukrainian counterpart Leonid Kravchuk agreed yesterday to divide the disputed former Soviet Black Sea Fleet into two separate navies.

The agreement, reached at a summit meeting outside of Moscow, follows weeks of rising tensions between the two most populous former Soviet republics over the fleet and a wide range of other issues including the future of the nuclear weapons that Ukraine inherited from the former Soviet Union and Russian supplies of oil and gas to Ukraine.

The fleet deal effectively scraps an agreement reached last year to maintain joint control over the fleet until 1995. The precise division of the approximately 300-ship fleet remains to be worked out. But the key to this latest pact is a Ukrainian agreement to allow the Russians to base their portion of the fleet in the Crimean port of Sevastopol and other bases in Ukraine. Before the meeting, Russia was reported to be seeking a long-term lease for the base.

According to the joint communiqué, as reported by the official Russian Itar-Tass news agency, the two leaders agreed "to implement accelerated creation of the Russian and Ukrainian navies on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet of the former USSR and to base the Russian navy in Sevastopol and other parts of Ukraine." The agreement must still be ratified by both parliaments.

President Yeltsin also confirmed Russia's readiness to provide Ukraine with nuclear security guarantees as a condition for its ratification of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START-1) and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

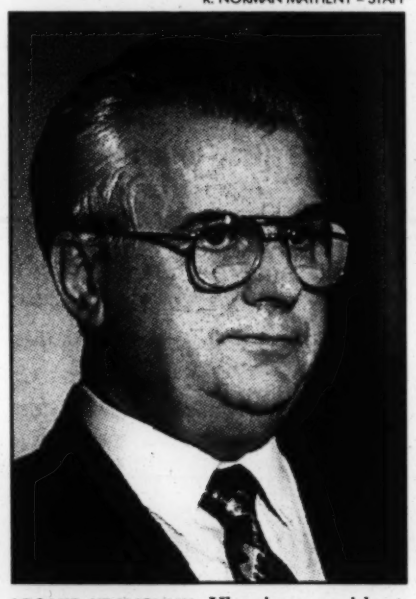
Ukraine has sought such guarantees from Russia and the other nuclear powers before it would go ahead with its official pledge to rid itself of the approximately 1,600 nuclear warheads, and 147 missiles on its territory. The Russian guarantees would come into force after Ukraine ratifies the treaties, the communiqué said.

Ukrainian President Kravchuk arrived at the meeting under severe political pressure at home resulting from economic collapse.

A week of strikes by miners and industrial workers in eastern Ukraine, an industrial center populated mainly by Russian speakers, has left the country on the brink of economic paralysis. The miners' demand for new elections for parliament and a referendum on the president's rule triggered three days of fierce debate in the Ukrainian parliament. Twice, the parliament balked, despite President Kravchuk's backing for the demands as the only way to end the crippling strikes.

Clearly desperate to regain control, especially before the summit with Russia, Kravchuk on Wednesday declared an economic state of emergency, placing himself at the head of the government. He gave Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma a free hand to push through economic reforms long stalled by a conservative parliament dominated by former Communists. The Premier will head a special committee with authority to halt the labor unrest, tackle Ukraine's soaring inflation and try to stabilize the economy.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



LEONID KRAVCHUK: *Ukraine president is under severe pressure from strikes an a collapsing economy.*

Finally after Kravchuk had left for Moscow yesterday, the Ukrainian parliament voted to hold a twin referendum of confidence in both the President and the parliament on September 26 similar to that held in Russia last April.

A "no" vote in either case will prompt new elections, the parliament decided. The vote however triggered confusion in the Ukrainian parliament with many deputies reportedly calling the decision illegal. Miners demonstrating in Donetsk, the regional center of the Donbas coal fields, reportedly cheered the parliament's decision. But some strike committee officials vowed to continue striking until new parliamentary elections were called, Reuters news agency reported.

Despite this limited political breakthrough, there is little question that Kravchuk was operating at a severe disadvantage in the tough talks with Russia. The Russians are adding to Ukraine's economic woes by demanding a huge increase in the prices of oil and gas it supplies. Those prices are currently well under world market levels. According to Ukrainian press reports, Ukraine already owes 572.2 billion rubles (about $572 million) for oil, gas, and oil products already supplied.

The slowdown in supplies of oil and other raw materials has directly fed the strike wave in eastern Ukraine whose large heavy industry is tightly tied into the Russian economy. The strikers demand economic autonomy from Kiev, accusing it of ruining ties with Russia.

The Russian government was by its own admission not loath to use these economic pressures to its advantage. In an undiplomatic, if not arrogant, statement, Russian President Yeltsin openly admitted that the oil price hikes and threat to cut off energy were being used to gain concessions on the military issues. "We have closed the [oil] tap a little, and some progress appeared in the fleet dispute," Yeltsin bluntly told reporters last Saturday.

The statement triggered outrage in Kiev. Prime Minister Kuchma described it as "absolutely clear blackmail," in a meeting with visiting Israeli parliament speaker Shevan Weiss. "Today the policy of Russia toward Ukraine cannot be called either friendly or normal," he later told parliament. "They strip us naked on the prices of energy."

In separate talks in Moscow yesterday, senior Russian and Ukrainian economic officials failed to reach agreement on energy prices and delivery. Russian deputy premier Alexander Shokhin said Ukraine had to offer additional goods and services to offset the shipments of Russian gas, according to Itar-Tass.

The two sides did agree to a free trade pact which will halt any move by either country to impose import duties.

Continued Assault On Somali Warlord May Backfire on UN

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOGADISHU, SOMALIA

AS US Cobra helicopter gunships circled overhead yesterday, occasionally firing tow missles or heavy-caliber machine guns at Somali snipers below, the mood on the streets was mixed.

"This can help bring peace," said Ibrahim Hussein, a young man standing near several Italian tanks parked at an intersection just outside the helicopters' target zone. As he spoke, sporadic sniper fire whizzed overhead.

But others in the small crowd at the intersection were angry.

"The American government wants to colonize the country," charged Omar Hussein, another young man. "We shall not forget this event."

"Somalia for Somalia," said a third young man.

The nighttime US air attacks on the ammunition and weapons depots of one of Somalia's main warlords, Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed, that began here on Saturday turned into a full-scale, daytime assault on his troops yesterday. With these assaults, the US and the UN face a dilemma.

If they succeed in undermining Aideed's strength, the UN and US could send a strong message and gain support of other warlords. But if the massive assault renders Aideed a hero, peace could still be a long way off.

Among Somalis on the streets around the Aideed house taken over by UN troops yesterday, in the section of the city controlled by his faction, sympathy was clearly for Aideed.

"This will continue," said Isse Mahamoud. "The UN [by its attacks on Aideed forces] is pouring gasoline on Mogadishu."

Mahad Moalim, a young Somali teacher, said that with all the pressure on Aideed and his men, "even other clans are going to support him now. Most of the people say UNOSOM [United Nations Operations in Somalia] is going to colonize the country."

But southern Mogadishu is not all of the city and the city is not all of the country.

Rival factions, including that of Ali Mahdi, are happy to see Aideed have his wings clipped. Aideed has, by most estimates, the greatest amount of weaponry in the country, and his resistance to disarmament has stalled efforts to get other factions to disarm, according to US and UN officials.

Under an agreement signed earlier this year by Aideed and the other major Somali military leaders, heavy weapons were put in identified caches to be subject to UN inspection. But Aideed had been resisting such an inspection here for months.

Some of the arms were kept in the same vicinity as a radio station used by Aideed for broadcasting attacks on UNOSOM. On June 5, UN troops began carrying out an inspection, and the station whipped up public sentiment by claiming UN troops were planning to seize the station. An ambush of Pakistani peacekeepers occurred, in which 23 soliders died. The incident lead to the renewed US military intervention in the country.

A US official here said he hopes the ongoing drive against Aideed will widen splits that already exist between Aideed and some of his former political allies in the United Somali Congress party. The official added that ultimately, "political reconciliation" is the key to peace here.

And outside of Mogadishu, according to UN officials, there have been important political developments that could pave the way for disarmament once Aideed either agrees to cooperate or is judged to be significantly weakened by the ongoing US-UN campaign against him.

In northern Mogadishu, for example, an area controlled by Aideed rival Ali Mahdi, heavy weapons have for months been under UN control. And most other factional leaders say they are willing to cooperate in the UN disarmament program, a UN political official here said Wednesday.

In Kismayo, a city still contested by rival factions – one loyal to Aideed and one to Ali Mahdi – elders from both factions have agreed to disarm, the UN official here said.

Most heavy weapons in the northeast are already off the streets, and recent travelers there report no presence of gunmen. In Baidoa, leaders of the Rahaweyne clan, which suffered the most from the recent famine, have called for disarmament.

A key problem area outside of this capital city is the region of Gelkayo, a central Somalia town, where both Aideed and Abdullah Yussef, another Aideed rival, have large amounts of weapons.

Aideed is the "lynch pin" in a move to disarm Somalia, the UN official told the Monitor. "If we can get over the hump here [in Mogadishu], and it translates into success in Gelkayo," disarmament will go smoother elsewhere, the official said.

Disarmament, including retraining of militia forces in peacetime jobs, could take years, says Canadian Brigadier General James Cox, who as Chief of Staff for UNOSOM helped shape the disarmament plan. The air strikes are only the first step of the plan, he told the Monitor.

Earlier this week, the disarmament effort was expanded to the nearby city of Afgoi, south of Mogadishu, where 12 men have been detained. Afgoi has been the site of frequent shootings of relief convoys and other vehicles on their way to the famine-hit area in the interior of the country.

ERIC CABANIS/AFP

PULSE ON THE STREETS: *Somali youths tear up US flags during a demonstration. Emotions among Somalis are mixed, but sympathy in parts of the capital for Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed is clearly stronger than support for the UN.*

Talk of 'Universality' Dominates UN Rights Conference

By Christopher Reardon
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

VIENNA

FROM United States delegates to the Dalai Lama, most everyone in Vienna for the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights is condemning suggestions by several Asian, Middle Eastern, and Northern African governments that human rights are culturally relative.

Diverted, perhaps, but not discouraged, Chinese, Indonesian, and Sudanese delegates are now advancing an argument that the application of international human rights standards must also take into account economic factors.

Democracies in the developing world, the argument goes, must give more weight to the rights of the collective society than to individuals who may threaten its stability. "Human rights are vital and important," says Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, but "so are efforts at accelerated national development." When the two conflict, he says, development must take priority.

Anticipating such challenges, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali opened the two-week conference on June 14 by urging the nations to reaffirm what he called "the imperative of universality" of human rights. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and other delegates quickly followed suit, describing the dissident view as a thinly veiled effort by repressive regimes to ward off foreign intervention. The issue has dominated discussions here during the conference's first week.

But among the most vociferous critics of the anti-universality argument are human rights activists of the very countries that are raising the issue. Almost without exception, representatives of human rights groups in China, Indonesia, and other countries say they find little merit and even less sincerity in their governments' positions.

"I know development cannot be accomplished in a fortnight," says Adnan Buyung Nasution, founder of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation. "But the direction must be clearly toward genuine democracy. That's not the case with [Indonesian President] Suharto's government. He's been developing the economy, but not social conditions."

Monitoring groups such as Human Rights Watch have denounced the Suharto government not only for a November 1991 massacre of residents of East Timor, a territory annexed by Indonesia in 1976, but also for continuing to curb Indonesians' freedoms of expression and association.

Sudan's Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan al-Bashir opposes universality with an argument based on religion. Since he took power in a coup four years ago, General Bashir has accrued a dismal human rights record, chiefly by waging a bitter war against non-Muslims in the south. Although Sudan had ratified many human rights agreements, including key provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Bashir maintains that they are inconsistent with Islamic law.

Amin Medani, a Sudanese human rights activist living in exile in Cairo, says nothing in the Koran justifies unwarranted arrests, summary executions, and the disbanding of political parties, trade unions, and other non-religious organizations.

Countries such as China and Indonesia have objected to foreign intervention for decades, but by adopting the language of economic development, say Mr. Nasution and Mr. Medani, they hope to make their position more defensible. Nevertheless, a recent change in US policy may help to buttress the view that all human beings are born free and equal in rights and dignity. If the US follows through on a promise to promote the recognition of economic and social rights, many activists say, it may undermine the argument against universality.

With the elevation of old Communist boss to a top post, this ex-Soviet republic seems poised for a return to the policies of the past

Azerbaijan Democrats On Verge of Losing Power

By Colin Barraclough
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BAKU, AZERBAIJAN

As rebel forces gather within striking distance of Azerbaijan's capital, a former Communist leader has been elected back into power in a bid to restore a semblance of order. Geidar Aliyev, former first secretary of Azerbaijan's Communist Party and one-time Brezhnev strongman, accepted the post of chairman of parliament Tuesday after the incumbent, Isa Gambarov, resigned.

The military uprising began two weeks ago after government troops attempted to retake a rebel-held garrison in Azerbaijan's second city, Ganja. The uprising has gained widespread popular support and the Popular Front government has been thrown into disarray.

Clashes on June 4 between government forces and insurgent troops based in Ganja in western Azerbaijan left 68 dead and over 200 wounded, including many civilians.

Antigovernment resentment spread so quickly to neighboring regions that Azerbaijan's prime minister was forced to resign. But forces belonging to the insurgent military commander, Suret Guseinov, took several more towns in western Azerbaijan and continue moving toward Baku, meeting little resistance.

United States Embassy officials in Baku confirmed that troops from Ganja have reached towns barely 60 miles from Baku.

After a two-week standoff, the Popular Front government of President Abulfaz Elchibey appears to have given up the struggle. "It's the end of the Popular Front," said Jehangir Husseinov, editor of the Baku daily newspaper Ayna. "Elchibey might stay on as a figurehead, but he will have no real power."

"It's like a play – the plot is unfolding day by day," he said. "Suret Guseinov was manipulated from the start. The whole thing was arranged to bring Geidar Aliyev back as a national hero."

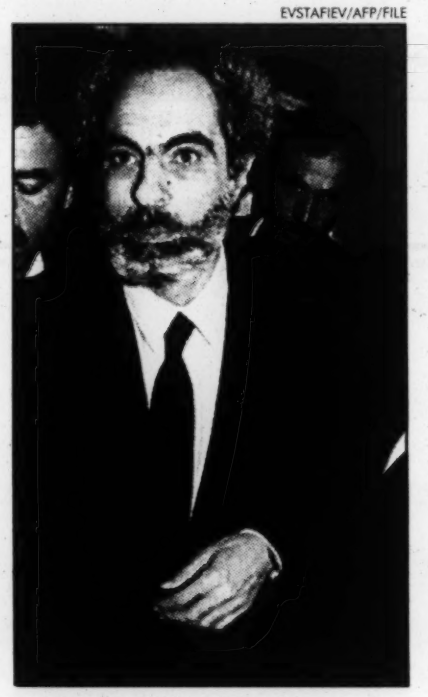
Brezhnev crony

Mr. Aliyev was a senior Politburo member in Brezhnev's Soviet government. Now 70, he has ruled the autonomous republic of Nakhichevan with an iron fist since 1991 as chairman of parliament. He remains very popular among the older generation of Azerbaijan, who see him as a strong leader and a reminder of better times.

"He will bring back very pro-Russian policies," said Leila Aliyeva, deputy director of Baku's Center for Strategic and International Studies. "We thought we were so secure in our new democratic republic. Now all the old Communists are coming back."

The parliament has already decided to abandon President Elchibey's plan on leaving the ruble zone within two weeks. Azerbaijan's own currency, the manat, is firmly attached to the Russian ruble, although Azerbaijan's Ministry of Finance had instructions to cut free from the ruble as soon as possible. Soaring inflation rates reaching 1,300 percent are largely imported from Russia.

EVSTAFIEV/AFP/FILE



UNDER ATTACK: *Azeri President Elchibey faced growing discontent over the economy and war.*

Suret Guseinov has used public dissatisfaction over the economy and loss of territory to Armenia to rally support throughout Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan has been fighting a five-year war with Armenia over the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, but Armenian forces have captured many neighboring regions and now control 10 percent of Azerbaijan. State-run television in Baku reported on Sunday that Armenian troops had taken advantage of Baku's internal crisis to begin new offensives in the Agdam region bordering Karabakh.

"We believe that we must win the war in Karabakh, not give away our country to Armenian like the government in Baku," Suret Guseinov said in Ganja.

But some observers believe Geidar Aliyev might try to seek a compromise with Armenia over Karabakh. "He has retained good contacts with the Armenian government during his time in Nakhichevan," said Leila Aliyeva.

Earlier this week, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan managed to persuade the more militant Armenian forces in Karabakh to accept the terms of a peace plan brokered by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. But the Karabakh government asked for a month to assert control over its own rebel military units, who oppose the peace plan. CSCE officials reportedly agree to the postponement.

Anti-Baku feeling

Antigovernment feeling in Azerbaijan has been growing for months, but the recent government attack on the Ganja garrison provided a focus.

"We have no democracy," said Ganja school teacher Maharam Binatov. "We have no right to hold meetings, we cannot speak our minds. We have elected none of the government in Baku. These people simply occupied the posts when the Soviet Union collapsed. They are not leaders."

Elchibey himself continues to believe he will remain in power. "Whatever happens, I will be president," he said the day before the Ganja assault. "This parliament cannot restrict or put an end to my power. We are trying to create a democratic state," he added, "so we should be more tolerant of criticism."

Eichibey is not a career politician. He was a dissident under the Communist regime and was jailed for his defiance. As co-founder of the Popular Front movement, he was at the spearhead of the Azerbaijani independence struggle. Although his knowledge of Russian is perfect, he will speak only the Azeri dialect of Turkish in public. A book of Omar Khayyum poetry and a portrait of Mamed Amin Rasulzade, founder of the first Azerbaijan republic, hangs over his desk.

"People expected too much of the government," says Ali Kerimov, No. 2 man in the presidential apparatus. "They wanted everything to change immediately. Of course, it's not so easy."

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Bridge From Island To Canada Mainland Nears Parliament OK

By Mark Clayton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

PLANS to build a bridge linking Prince Edward Island with the New Brunswick mainland are going ahead despite unresolved questions about its economic viability and environmental effects, opponents of the project say.

Canada's House of Commons on Tuesday overwhelmingly approved enabling legislation to permit government-subsidized financing of the controversial eight-mile long, $840-million (Canadian; US$663 million) bridge. The bill is now before the Canadian Senate, which is expected to give the final OK by next week.

"We need not only an environmental study, but a serious study of the finances," Sen. Heath Macquarrie says. He promises to do everything he can in the Senate to delay or defeat the legislation. Even he, however, expects the bill easily to pass muster next week given its backing by both the ruling Progressive Conservative Party and opposition Liberal Party leaders. "Something on the order of the auditor general is needed to go through this," Senator Macquarrie says. "There is a distinct danger that this will be a heavy drain on the taxpayers of this country."

Though eventually replacing several ferry boats and 650 ferry workers, the bridge would still cost taxpayers far more than continuing to operate and upgrade the ferry service, contends Macquarrie and other opponents, including Prince Edward Island fishermen, citizen groups, and unions.

Elmer MacKay, who chairs the federal Department of Public Works, disagrees. As one of the biggest backers of the bridge, Mr. MacKay's view is that the bridge will cost taxpayers no more than the present ferry service – about $42 million a year for 35 years – or $1.5 billion when adjusted for inflation. He also cites a 1988 referendum that showed that more than 60 percent of island residents approve of the bridge.

THE "fixed-link," he says, will make it immeasureably easier to reach the island year-round and increase the flow of tourists and dollars to the island. Lobster, fish, and commerce of all kinds will be easier to transport. "The rate of economic growth in PEI [Prince Edward Island] has been stultified by the lack of access," Mackay says. "Despite the rhetoric, these ferry services are slow and don't facilitate commerce."

MacKay told the Monitor in a phone interview that he had recommended the project for parliamentary approval, based on economic viability assessments conducted for his department and various other economic reviews.

Prominent among these is a cost-benefit review carried out by a consulting firm hired by Strait Crossing Inc., the Calgary, Alberta-based bridge building company that hopes to build the span. The report has been roundly criticized by two subsequent reports – an internal public works study and an external one by Peter Townley, a cost-benefit expert and professor at Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

"I think [New Brunswick Premier Frank] McKenna and MacKay are backing it because they think it will create jobs," Prof. Townley says. "It's pretty clear that although it would generate benefits as far as time saved traveling, the costs are higher than the ferry service."

Although the project would involve as many as 4,000 workers, Townley says unemployment would not be affected much since it would draw already-employed workers from the surrounding area. In addition, many tourists will be drawn away from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, neutralizing any overall benefit for the depressed maritime economy, he says.

Fishermen say the project to span the Northumberland Strait would result in ice buildups that would scour the shore and harm valuable spawning and other fishing grounds. A one-month environmental study found no harmful effect. But a federal court judge has ruled that a thorough environment study is required. MacKay says he will decide soon whether to order a full review.

ECONOMY

Pepsi Reels From Reports Of Product Tampering

Soft-drink giant says incidents are most likely cases of 'copycat hoax'

By Guy Halverson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

FOOD tampering or hoax? That is the question facing officials of Pepsico Inc., Pepsi Cola's parent company, following numerous complaints across the country that syringes, needles, and other objects have been found in its canned soda products.

A number of cases have been confirmed as hoaxes. Pepsico officials say eventually all of the tampering cases will presumably turn out to be hoaxes by people trying to cash in on the company's misfortune. Alleged findings of needles in Pepsi cans have been reported from at least 24 states in all regions of the United States.

The reports of tampering – or copycat hoaxes – come at a bad time for Pepsico, and soft-drink makers in general, since Americans buy the product in large quantities during the summer months.

Pepsiso officials, inundated with calls at their Purchase, N.Y., headquarters, say they are taking the allegations seriously and are determined to do whatever is necessary to protect consumers. But they have declined to recall any Pepsi products, since, at press time, no case of a syringe in an unopened can has been found, says Brad Shaw, a company spokesman.

Past cases of actual or alleged food tampering have cost American industry hundreds of millions of dollars from lost sales and the expense of having to devise new tamper-proof containers. Corporate reputations have also suffered. In 1982, seven people died in the Chicago area after swallowing Tylenol capsules laced with cyanide. Last week in the Seattle area, a man was convicted of attempting to murder his wife by lacing a cold capsule with poison. The first two reports of Pepsi tamperings also came from around Seattle last week.

Most reports involving food tampering are unsubstantiated, says Betsy Adams, a spokeswoman for the Food and Drug Administration in Washington. In 1984, for example, the FDA examined nearly 500 reports of food tampering involving Girl Scout cookies; no proof was ever found.

Past cases of food tampering have cost American industry hundreds of millions of dollars from lost sales and the expense of devising new tamper-proof containers.

"Everything about this [series of incidents] is very strange," Ms. Adams says. No food container is completely tamper-proof, she admits, but a "can is about as close as you can come."

All 70 special agents of the FDA's office of criminal investigations are working on the Pepsi case, Adams says. "We are advising people that they should pour their cans of soda into a glass before consuming them," says FDA spokeswoman Monica Revelle.

A man was arrested in Williamsport, Pa., accused of taking a needle from the trash and claiming it came from a Pepsi can. Another man was arrested in Branson, Mo. Conviction for such crimes can carry a minimum fine of $250,000 and a prison sentence of up to 5 years.

Pepsi officials say it is almost physically impossible for tampering to have occurred during the production process. The company has about 140 plants throughout the US, Pepsi spokesman Mr. Shaw says, and bottling methods are fairly uniform.

About 1,600 cans a minute move down the conveyor belt. They are open at the top, but are automatically flipped upside down before being filled and rotated rightside up. Therefore, they are empty at the moment the soda is poured into the container. Within seconds, a lid is sealed on top.

Americans, who buy between 20 million and 30 million cans of Pepsi a day, have made Pepsico Inc. one of the most successful food companies in the world, says William Leach, a food analyst with Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette Inc., an investment house. At press time, only one reported incident has involved another soft-drink maker, Coca Cola. That case was determined to have been a hoax.

Although Pepsico and Coca Cola, headquartered in Atlanta, are the two largest US soft-drink manufacturers, they are quite different, Mr. Leach says. Pepsi is a "diversified food producer." Coca Cola is primarily a beverage producer; only 20 percent of its earnings come from the US, he says.

Pepsico's stock fell slightly this week – share prices dropping almost $1 – apparently because of the allegations of tampering. Shares are selling in the $35 range, below a high of $43 recorded in the past 12 months.

Trade Deficit Widens Unexpectedly in April

WASHINGTON

THE United States merchandise trade deficit widened in April to $10.49 billion, the worst performance in more than four years as American consumers' demand for foreign oil and cars increased.

The Commerce Department said the April deficit was up 0.3 percent, following an even larger 32-percent surge in March that pushed it to $10.45 billion. The deficit with Japan jumped 4.4 percent to $5.5 billion.

The trade performance caught analysts by surprise. They had forecast that the trade gap would narrow significantly to around $8.5 billion as imports slowed from their record pace in March. But imports posted only a tiny decline in April, falling 1 percent to $48.87 billion. At the same time, US exports fell 1.3 percent to $38.38 billion.

The April deficit was the country's worst monthly trade showing since December 1988. So far this year, the trade deficit is running at an annual rate of $109.54 billion, far above last year's $84.5 billion. Economists forecast that the deficit will remain at that level for the entire year.

Their gloomy outlook is based on a belief that growth in US exports will slacken this year because of recessions in many of its major overseas markets.

– Associated Press

An Inflation Scare Fades Away in the US

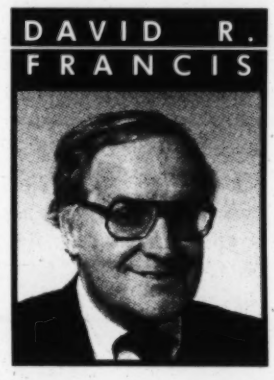
THE better price statistics for May that came out this week and last were no real surprise to economists.

"We could not see how a combination of slow growth and small wage increases could result in a pickup in the fundamental rate of inflation," says Edward Campbell, chief economist at Brown Brothers Harriman & Co., a New York investment bank.

For the first four months of this year, consumer prices rose at an annual rate of 4.3 percent, well ahead of the 2.9-percent rate in the same months last year. Gold prices also moved up from about $327 an ounce in early March to approximately $382 by mid-May – a trend often seen as indicating more inflation.

Some officials at the Federal Reserve Board got excited, leaking reports that the central bank's policymaking Open Market Committee had, in its instructions to chairman Alan Greenspan, called for a bias toward higher short-term interest rates. That prompted the bond and stock markets to have a short fit. Prices fell sharply. And the White House, after a meeting between President Clinton and Mr. Greenspan June 9, issued a statement saying, "there are no inflationary pressures on the economy" that would warrant an increase in interest rates.

"The administration reacted in a measured way," Paul Kasriel, an economist with Northern Trust Company, Chicago, says approvingly.



A keen Fed watcher, Mr. Kasriel says that a majority of Fed policymakers do not want to raise interest rates but have biased the policy directive to placate a couple of inflation "hawks" on the Fed Board of Governors, Wayne Angell and Lawrence Lindsey. He adds: "The Fed used a bit of open-mouth policy rather than open-market policy to signal the markets it was concerned about inflation."

Dr. Campbell says something similar: The Fed was "positioning itself" so it couldn't be criticized if the May inflation numbers continued at a high annual rate.

The May numbers eased inflation fears. Many economists are patting themselves on the back about their foresight. Campbell had forecast a 0.1-percent increase in the consumer price index (CPI). That's what the actual statistics showed.

The consensus forecast by some 50 economists compiled by Blue Chip Economic Indicators has the CPI rising 3.2 percent this year and 3.4 percent in 1994, up a bit from 2.9 percent in 1992.

Economists see several indicators of modest inflation. One is the tremulous recovery. The Fed reported Wednesday that output at the nation's factories, mines, and utilities rose only 0.2 percent in May. Factories at industrial concerns were operating at 81.6 percent of capacity, well under the 85-percent level that many economists say might cause production bottlenecks and more inflation. Housing starts were up 2.4 percent in May to the highest level in five months, a mildly disappointing increase to some economists. Automobiles sales showed greater strength.

Other signs of low inflation include declining commodity prices and falling wages when adjusted for inflation. The National Association of Purchasing Managers, in its latest survey of members, found that relatively few manufacturers are reporting persistently higher prices.

As for the gold price increase, Kasriel holds that it was just an anomaly, perhaps related to demand for gold in China where inflation is running at about 17 percent annually.

Gary Bigg, an economist with Prudential Economics, maintains that both the producer price index and the consumer price index overstate inflation. This is because both are based on prices of a fixed basket of goods, one established in 1982 for the PPI, and one in 1982-84 for the CPI. Buyers, he says, shift purchases away from goods and services that go up sharply in price and toward cheaper items. So the basket is by now outdated.

A better measure of prices, says Karen Moeller, another Prudential economist, is the personal consumption expenditures deflator, a broader measure of inflation used in compiling the gross domestic product statistics. It comes out only quarterly, and has been showing inflation running about 3 percent.

What economists call the "core" inflation rate (the nonfood, non-energy items in the CPI) was trimmed roughly 2 percent to 3.4 percent in 1992 by the two years of slow growth in 1991-92. Inflation isn't an easy enemy to beat.

ARTS

The City of Memphis hosts a knockout exhibition of treasures and artifacts from the vanquished French Empire

Emperor Napoleon Reigns Supreme In Tennessee

By Helen Pike
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

MEMPHIS, TENN.

MEMPHIS is not only the home of the King of rock-and-roll, Elvis Presley, but until the end of September, this Mississippi River city plays host to a different monarch: Napoleon Bonaparte.

Simply titled "Napoleon," the comprehensive exhibit of more than 175 objects from public and private collections around the world is being showcased in the Cook Convention Center, a massive hall customarily used for trade shows.

Under an agreement with the French national museum system, this mega-exhibit – insured for $50 million and produced at a cost of $9.1 million – is a non-traveling, one-time-only show.

With this exhibition, curator Bernard Chevallier hopes to rescue Napoleon (who lived from 1769-1821) from obscurity. "Even school children in France don't know that Marie-Louise was the mother of the King of Rome," Chevallier says of the second wife Napoleon married in order to produce an heir.

While "real historians know the two faces of Napoleon," he continues, "most of the public, whether here in America or in France, doesn't."

Chevallier is the director general at Chateau de Malmaison, Napoleon and his first wife Josephine's 17th-century country retreat, eight miles outside of Paris.

The city of Memphis, Tenn., gave $200,000 to restore one room at Malmaison – the Council Chamber – in exchange for the opportunity to exhibit its furnishings. It was a welcome contribution in the face of the daunting restoration required at the estate.

Wars, multiple owners, and haphazard attempts at restoration have depleted some of Malmaison's original furnishings. In some rooms walls are covered with as many as eight layers of paint.

According to Chevallier, 25 rooms are in need of an estimated $5 million restoration – or rather, 24 rooms, thanks to Memphis.

"What would take us six or seven years to restore, we were able to do in six months," he said of the room's refurbishing, which included new upholstery, silk fringes, gilded chairs, and gold-trimmed ribbons.

"Napoleon" follows in the footsteps of other blockbuster exhibits designed by the city government in Memphis to promote cultural tourism, called "Wonders: the Memphis International Cultural Series." The city realized it was on to something when it debuted "Ramses II" in 1987, an exhibit that emphasized the connection between this modern metropolis and its namesake, the ancient Egyptian town of Memphis, now renamed Cairo.

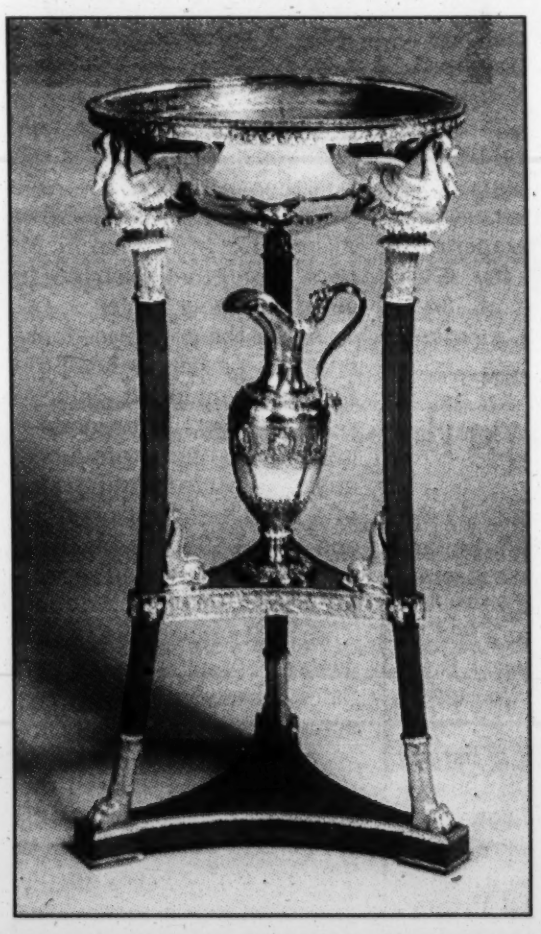
The city gave $1.1 million to the Egyptian government to help restore its Ramses artifacts. "Ramses II" drew 675,000 visitors, and generated $80 million in revenue, according to Jack Kyle, Wonders spokesman.

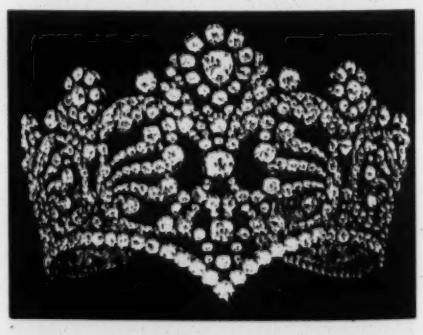
A second personality-based exhibit focused on Catherine the Great of Russia, which was bolstered by a $300,000 donation to the Hermitage museum in Moscow. That exhibition brought in an estimated $85 million into Memphis, Kyle says. Wonders has also featured the Ottoman sultans and the Etruscans.

The Napoleon exhibit begins with a 10-minute introductory film produced by the National Geographic Society. From there, visitors ascend to the mezzanine where cassette-recorder guides tailored to either adults or children are distributed.

Louis Pounders of Nathans, Evans, Pounders & Taylor, a local architecture and interior-design firm, transformed the convention hall, beginning with a pastel-colored corridor that echoes Malmaison's grand foyer. In this room are marble busts of Napoleon's family, anchored by the handsome bust of Napoleon as First Consul carved by court sculptor Antonio Canova.

The exhibition rooms unfold in a chronological fashion. The first three galleries are done in a simple Classic Revival style with subtle wall colors that, alternately, show off Napoleon's walnut cradle from the island of Corsica; the silk, silver, copper and papier-mâché wedding basket Napoleon gave to Josephine; and various pieces of the Empire's crown jewels, including Josephine's 1,040-diamond





PRECIOUS OBJECTS: *Napoleon's washstand (left) was made by Guillaume-Martin Biennais and Joseph-Marie-Gabriel Genu in yew, bronze gilt, and silver. The 260-carat diamond tiara (right) is said to have belonged to Empress Josephine.*

ELSEWHERE IN MEMPHIS...

■ **Dixon Gallery and Gardens.** This intimate brick museum dedicated to decorative arts offers visitors a manageable taste of the Napoleon mega-exhibit. The show, "Decor in the Age of Napoleon: Malmaison at the Dixon," highlights a collection of Empire-period furniture and fine arts. Curator is Roger Prìgent, president of Malmaison Antiques in New York, who also contributed objects to the convention-center exhibit. Through Sept. 22.

Hours: 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Tuesday, Friday, Saturday; 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. Sunday; Tickets: $5; $4 for seniors; $3 for students; $1 children to age 12.

4339 Park Ave., Memphis; (901) 761-5250.

■ **Graceland.** Selected rooms from Elvis Presley's 1930s Southern stone mansion are open to the public in a kind of time capsule of the singer's life in the 1970s. Out buildings provide a comprehensive overview of the rock-and-roll legend's rags-to-riches life. Tickets can be bought for the mansion only, or visitors can splurge on the "platinum tour" package, which includes his two airplanes, his car museum, and the "Sincerely Elvis" exhibit of personal memoriabilia.

Hours: 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily. Mansion-only tickets: $8; $7.20 for seniors aged 65 and over, $4.75 for children aged 5 to 12. Global tickets: $16; $14.40 for seniors aged 65 and over; $11 for children aged 5 to 12).

3734 Elvis Presley Blvd., Memphis; (800) 238-2000.

■ **National Civil Rights Museum.** The Lorraine Motel, where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was fatally wounded April 4, 1968, has been turned into an impressive series of 15 large-as-life interactive scenes highlighting the American Civil Rights Movement. Included are a vintage Montgomery city bus in which visitors can sit where Rosa Parks did in 1955 and a dime-store lunch counter that recreates the sit-ins of the early 1960s.

Hours: 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Saturday; 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. Sunday (September to May) and 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. (June to August). Tickets: $5 adults; $4 for seniors and students; $3 for children aged 6 to 12).

450 Mulberry St., Memphis; (901) 521-9699.

COURTESY OF WONDERS: THE MEMPHIS INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL SERIES

'NAPOLEON IN HIS CORONATION ROBES' (1805): *The feisty, opportunistic emperor is captured in oil by Francois-Pascal, Baron Gérard. The painting was so successful that Gérard made several copies. Only Napoleon's tunic, sash, and sword have survived.*

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(260 carats) diadem.

There is also the well-known Jacques-Louis David portrait of Napoleon on horseback crossing the St. Bernard Pass in the Alps as he retraced Hannibal's route. (Napoleon actually made the crossing on a mule and refused to pose for the portrait; the painter's son was his stand-in.)

The Coronation or Empire Room provides a color contrast, resplendent in red, and boasts Napoleon's throne from the Legislative Assembly; as well as Josephine's armchair from the Tribune of the Legislative Assembly; and a gilt-wood candelabra displayed for the first time since the fall of the empire in 1815.

The recreated Council Chamber is outfitted with 15 restored chairs and stools designed by Jacob-Freres; doors painted after sketches by Percier representing the great warrior peoples of antiquity; a clock designed as Minerva in patinated and gilded bronze; and sets of Empire candelabra, candlesticks, and andirons.

It was in the Council Chamber that Spain returned Louisiana to France and where subsequent negotiations between Napoleon and James Monroe, President Thomas Jefferson's emissary to France, ultimately lead to the Louisiana Purchase. The display also features the original French and American documents of the purchase, along with a portrait of Jefferson that hangs in Malmaison.

For military buffs, there are numerous battle paintings, beginning with Napoleon's Pyramid Campaign in Egypt to the Battle of Waterloo in Belgium. In a gallery that recalls the opulent Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, military outfits worn by Napoleon and his men are on display. In another gallery is Napoleon's campaign tent, along with his famous folding bed, and his carriage from the notorious Russian Campaign of 1812.

Other artifacts include an original copy of the Napoleonic Code book, the model of government reform that aimed to give equal legal rights to all in the chaotic aftermath of the French Revolution. There also is the medallion Napoleon bestowed on Marechal Berthier as one of the early recipients of the Order of the Legion of Honor, created by Napoleon to reward military bravery, as well as civilian merit.

In another gallery is filled with yards of silk tapestry woven in Lyon, France for Marie-Louise, which was never used. The final two galleries chronicle Napoleon's decline and final exile in a modest house called Longwood on the island of St. Helena off the African coast. Also worth seeing at the convention center, though not under the Wonders' banner, is a diorama of the Battle of Waterloo.

An estimated 750,000 visitors are expected to view "Napoleon," which opened April 22. One month after opening, 100,000 adults and school children had already passed through the gates.

Et après Napoleon? The Wonders staff is already working on the Imperial Tombs of China from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. as the blockbuster exhibit for 1995.

■ *'Napoleon' ends Sept. 22.*

Two Comic Interludes

New play by A.R. Gurney, and Victoria Chaplin's 'Invisible Circus'

By Frank Scheck
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

BOTH the playwright A.R. Gurney and the actor Charles Kimbrough have a great deal of career success exploring the repressive nature of the WASP aristocracy:

Gurney with such acclaimed plays as "The Dining Room" (in which Kimbrough appeared), "The Perfect Party," "The Cocktail Hour," and "Love Letters," and Kimbrough most prominently in his portrayal of Jim Dial, the veteran newsman on television's "Murphy Brown."

In Gurney's brief new one-act play, "Later Life," now appearing Off Broadway at Playwrights Horizons, the author and actor have created an indelible portrait of a man who is forced to confront the missed opportunities in his life.

Austin, a successful, divorced Boston banker, is confronted with his past during a cocktail party. This occurs in the form of Ruth (Maureen Anderman), another guest, with whom he enjoyed a romantic but chaste liaison more than 30 years ago, while he was a serviceman, on the island of Capri. Austin does not remember her, but she remembers him.

The two never consummated their flirtation because of Austin's feeling that something terrible would happen to him in his life.

According to him now, nothing ever did; even his divorce was the "best thing that could have happened." But during the course of the evening, as the couple rediscover their connection, Austin realizes what he had been missing. Ruth has not fared well either; she has lost a child and has been married four times.

This is not as melodramatic as it sounds due to the skillfulness of Gurney's writing and the light touch of the performers. Adding to the mirth is the fact that the would-be romantic duo are constantly interrupted by various guests from the party, all of them played by Carole Shelley and Anthony Heald, whose characterizations are a constant source of delight. Even if some of these creations tend toward stereotype (particularly Heald's computer nerd), they provide a refreshing respite from Kimbrough and Anderman's troubles.

Both Kimbrough and Anderman contribute moving performances, with Kimbrough particularly effective, displaying his character's stoic demeanor while making clear the desperation underneath. Anderman's Ruth is so quietly appealing that we, as well as Austin, feel the loss of their separation. The subtle touch of Director Don Scardino (also the artistic director of Playwrights Horizons) is perfectly suited to the play's quiet tone.

Gurney's writing has often proved facile and clever. Here, he provides real emotion as well. The final image is particularly haunting. This talented playwright's comic mode has deepened in later life.

THEATER

LATER LIFE
Play by A.R. Gurney.
Directed by Don Scardino.
At Playwrights Horizons.

THE INVISIBLE CIRCUS
Performed by Victoria Chaplin and Jean Baptiste Thiérrée.
At Union Square Theatre.

T. CHARLES ERICKSON

'LATER LIFE': *Maureen Anderman and Charles Kimbrough play a couple who renew their liaison.*

"THE Invisible Circus," playing at New York's Union Square Theatre, is the creation of Victoria Chaplin, whom the program notes coyly describe as having a father who "worked in the film industry," and her husband, Jean Baptiste Thiérrée.

The cast consists entirely of them, their son James Spencer (who bears an alarming resemblance to his grandfather), and assorted ducks, rabbits, and doves. It was preceded on these shores by "Le Cirque Imaginaire," which appeared here in 1986.

This oftentimes charming creation is less a circus than an elaborate act of the new vaudeville variety. It is a succession of sketches and skits, most of them brief, performed by the three stars separately and together. Thiérrée is the clown of the act; the comedian he brings most to mind is Harpo Marx, with his wide eyes, loopy grin, and mostly silent delivery. He does a combination of comedy and magic, definitely of the old-school variety, ranging from pulling objects out of hats, tricks with multicolored scarves, and even levitation.

More entertaining are his corny sight gags. He'll enter dressed head to toe in a costume resembling a Renaissance painting, and then produce a series of props (including a peeled banana) with the same elaborate decor. Or he'll lip-sync to an opera recording, only to be joined in the singing by a pair of puppets on both knees. The material is hardly inspired, but his rapid-fire pace and comic enthusiasm are ultimately winning.

Chaplin's chief contribution is a series of visual puns, in which she transforms herself, through the aid of ingenious costumes and elaborate physical contortions, into a variety of worldly and otherworldly creatures.

Performed to atmospheric New Age music, what she does is much like the Swiss group Mummenschanz in its visual impact and charm. She is a physically adept and versatile performer, and her skills have been passed to her son James, who performs various segments in which he demonstrates his prowess at gymnastics.

The mother and son collaborate on a routine involving elastic cords, in a cross between bungee jumping and trapeze. Its impact is heightened by the proximity of the audience in such an intimate theater.

Some of the evening's segments are less than thrilling, such as the series of sculptural figures created by Chaplin out of bicycles, and some are just plain silly, including the first-act finale, which produces a literal menagerie of animals crawling, walking, and flying across the stage. "The Invisible Circus" is slight, so slight that, while not invisible, it is almost transparent.

But the unassuming nature of the show, and the obvious delight that the performers take in their work, make it an engaging experience. And if their delighted laughter was any indication, children will find it even more than that.

SPORTS

Cold Weather Seems to Grow Duffers

By Laurent Belsie
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ST. PAUL, MINN.

QUESTION: What state has the most golfers per capita? Florida? South Carolina? Maybe California?

Nope. It's Minnesota.

Well, to be fair, it *was* Minnesota. After four years at the top of the heap, Minnesota has dropped to No. 3, according to the annual survey of the National Golf Foundation. But don't jump to any conclusions. The two states that edged it out were North Dakota and Wisconsin.

It seems that when it comes to golf, the colder the climate, the more popular the game. Rounding out the top nine are such golfing hotbeds as Utah, Iowa, Montana, Nebraska, Michigan, and Illinois. You have to drop to No. 10 Arizona before a warm-weather state pops up. California is 30th, just ahead of Florida and South Carolina. Only 11.3 percent of South Carolinians play the game. In Minnesota, it's 19 percent; in No. 1 North Dakota, it's 20.2 percent.

Why is golf so popular here?

"We only have six months to play golf," says Don Kortus, who's just finished whacking away on the driving range of a suburban St. Paul, Minn., course. Minnesotans – especially senior citizens – take every opportunity to play, he adds. "You will see those guys playing out there when it's really cold."

Uh, how cold is "really cold"?

"Forty-five degrees. If it's 60 degrees, like today, it's perfect."

I can't help noticing the clouds that hang low and dark above Mr. Kortus. His jacket is zipped up tight. A few raindrops fall. Tom Cunnien, an avid golfer who's also out on the driving range, dismisses it with a wave of his hand. "The rain doesn't stop anybody," he says.

"In Minnesota, golf is almost the forbidden fruit," says Bev Vanstrum, who has won 17 state titles and four state senior titles. The winters are so long that people just chomp at the bit to get outdoors at the first hint of spring. Golf is one way to enjoy it. Sort of.

Mrs. Vanstrum has played tournaments in Duluth, Minn., where it was sunny on one side of the course and snowing on the other. She's very adept at plucking golf balls out of snow drifts. Like any other experienced Minnesota golfer, she always packs mittens, a stocking cap, and other foul-weather gear, just in case the weather changes.

"Do you know who created golf? The Scots," she says. "I don't think they intended it to be fun."

Accessibility is another factor, says Brian Delgado, spokesman for the Minnesota Golf Association. Eighty-one percent of Minnesota's golf courses are public rather than private. The national average is only 62 percent.

Don't forget culture, adds John Rooney, author of the new "Atlas of American Sport." "The Upper Midwest ... is a sports-for-sports'-sake region." Unlike other parts of the United States, which stress winning or teamwork, Minnesota emphasizes participation. That's a big reason why more Minnesotans play golf, while Mississippi and Texas turn out 10 times as many professional and top-flight college players per capita, he says.

"Maybe it's ethnic," says Rod Magnuson, a three-time state senior player of the year. "It just suits the people in Minnesota. We always refer to 'Minnesota nice.' Maybe golf is a genteel game that we all can understand."

Genteel!? In June, maybe, but not during a Minnesota November. That's when Mr. Magnuson heads out to suburban St. Paul to play the "Diehard" tournament. His worst golfing experience was at the Diehard four years ago.

"The sleet was coming sideways," he recalls. "We played anyhow."

DAVE HERRING – STAFF

Percentage of People Who Play Golf in the US
A state-by-state comparison shows the sport's popularity in the North.
more than 15%
12.1 to 15%
10 to 12%
less than 10%
Insufficient data for Alaska and Hawaii
Source: National Golf Foundation, 1993

Foreign Golfers Find Increasing Success on US Pro Tour

By Rick Lipsey
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

RYE, NEW YORK

VIJAY SINGH, a Fijian Indian who learned to play golf largely by reading magazines, won the Buick Classic at the Westchester Country Club in Rye, N.Y., last week. He was the third foreigner in four weeks to win on the Professional Golfers' Association of America (PGA) Tour.

"Every professional dreams of playing and winning in America," says Singh, who has earned $377,081 and made the cut in all seven of his 1993 PGA Tour appearances. "It's the best tour in the world." Look for more foreign-born golfers among the leaders at the United States Open, the final rounds of which are this weekend.

Singh turned pro at 19 and played on tours in Australia, Africa, and Europe, all the while dreaming of taking his game to the PGA Tour. His journey to the zenith of American professional golf is one that golfers worldwide are completing. American leader boards are routinely dotted with foreigners like Australian Greg Norman (winner of 11 PGA Tour titles and more than 60 worldwide), South African Nick Price (the defending PGA champion, with $4.3 million in PGA Tour career earnings), and Trish Johnson of Wales. Johnson has two Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) Tour victories this year and ranks second on the money list.

Indeed, more than 20 PGA Tour and some 30 LPGA Tour members grew up outside the US. Seven foreigners have won PGA Tour tournaments in 1993, and five have won on the LPGA tour. Foreigners account for three of the top six PGA Tour money winners and three of the top eight on the LPGA Tour this year.

International players are abundant in US amateur ranks, too, especially in college. Last month, Charlotta Sorenstam, a freshman from Sweden playing for the University of Texas, won the women's National Collegiate Athletic Association championship.

"We want the top players in the world participating here," says Chuck Adams, a PGA Tour official. "An international representation is the sort of thing the PGA Tour is working for."

Only in the last few years have foreigners had widespread success in the United States. In 1982, for example, Americans won every PGA Tour tournament; in 1987, only three foreigners won on the PGA Tour.

The success of international players here is largely due to golf's global popularity boom. America's extensive junior, collegiate, amateur, and professional programs have long been the world's best. But now many other countries have high-quality programs and facilities designed to develop world-class skills. Professional tours have grown in Europe, Asia, South Africa, and Australia. Sweden and France now have special programs aimed at producing world golf champions.

As good as other countries' systems are, though, the ultimate goal for most foreign players is the US. "The only reason players don't play the US," says Fulton Allem, a South African who early this month won the PGA Tour's Memorial tournament in Dublin, Ohio, "is because of the competitive difficulty of getting on the PGA Tour and how much it costs to come here."

Why do so many players come to America? For starters, there's cash – lots of cash. Total prize money on the 1993 PGA Tour is close to $55 million, and corporate endorsement opportunities are plentiful. The total purse on the world's next-biggest tour, the European PGA Tour, is some $35 million, and the figure drops substantially on the Australian and African tours.

'Every professional dreams of playing and winning in America. It's the best tour in the world.'
– Vijay Singh, winner, Buick Classic golf tournament

High-quality competition and courses are major attractions here. "You want to prove yourself where the best players are," says New Zealand native Grant Waite, who lives in Salt Lake City and won the Kemper Open in Potomac, Md., last month. "Overseas, you just don't have the depth in the fields you get here. Just making the cut is a challenge. And the courses are without a doubt the best in the world."

Many enjoy the PGA Tour's creature comforts and simple logistics. Australian Craig Parry turned pro in 1985 and played on five continents before settling last year on the PGA Tour. Now married and a father, Parry lives in Orlando, Fla.

"I got sick and tired of using my passport every week," says Parry, winner of nine events worldwide and $241,901 last year on the PGA Tour. "It's nice to speak the same language every week and not have to always be changing money. Plus the PGA Tour is really family oriented. They've even got nursery facilities."

Japanese and European players are notably absent from the international influx here. Some Europeans have been very successful in America – Bernhard Langer of Germany, Nick Faldo of England, and Spain's Seve Ballesteros have each won two Masters – but they, as most Europeans, tend to play in the US only around major championships.

Scheduling conflicts, large purses at home, and language barriers have kept most Japanese players on the Japan PGA Tour. But even they are beginning to strive for the pride that comes with winning in America. "If I were to win once over here," says Joe Ozaki, who has won 14 Japan PGA Tour events and played seven times in the US this year, "it would be like winning 100 tournaments in Japan."

St. Louis Opera Ends on High Note

By Thor Eckert Jr.
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ST. LOUIS

OPERA

As Opera Theatre of St. Louis nears the close of its 18th season, the company exudes the confidence and pride of an organization that is an internationally acclaimed fixture in the St. Louis cultural landscape.

Its home on the verdant campus of Webster University is a superb environment for a company that is not only about excellence, but also about a place where people can gather for pre-curtain picnics and post-concert chats with the artists.

The Loretto-Hilton Center for the Performing Arts lobby is festooned with a magnificent exhibit of original Massenet opera posters. The entire setting exudes civility and culture in the best, least intimidating sense of the word.

This was a particularly strong season for Opera Theatre. The fare included a world première, David Carlson's "The Midnight Angel"; Massenet's "Cendrillon"; Mozart's "Don Giovanni"; and Britten's "Billy Budd." Experiencing these operas in the intimate confines of the Loretto-Hilton – a three-quarter thrust arena-style stage – is extraordinary.

The singers do not have the safety of a proscenium to protect them from the scrutiny of the audience. The persistent liability of the space is the orchestra pit beneath the stage area: Though it was expanded a few seasons back to seat (uncomfortably) a maximum of 61, much of the sound remains trapped below stage, and in a piece like "Billy Budd," the compromise is serious indeed.

Opera Theatre is becoming the final bastion of opera sung in English in the United States. English ensures the artists know specifically what they are singing about, and it forces audiences to listen more carefully.

In a work like **The Midnight Angel,** for which Peter Beagle ("The Last Unicorn") adapted his short story of the same title, the intimacy of the theater was vital.

The plot concerns bitter, sour, socially prominent Lady Neville, and the impact on several friends and relations of her decision to invite Death to her last gala ball. Beagle has added some subplots to his story, set in 1907 London, and turned it into something resembling a Victorian drawing-room drama. Carlson's score opts for clarity of text rather than for sweeping melodic gesture; as a consequence the work rarely catches full operatic fire.

In the second act, it bogs down in a string of small aria monologues that merely stops the action. Nevertheless, it has some appeal for audiences expecting a new opera to be inaccessible. The production (designed by Robert Perdziola) was handsome enough, and director Linda Brovsky kept the action moving.

The cast was excellent, with outstanding performances from Katherine Terrell (Contessa dei Candini), Brad Cresswell (the unprepossessing John Lorimond), and James Maddalena (the dashing Captain Compson). Elaine Bonazzi brought tremendous presence to Lady Neville. In the pit, Stewart Robertson proved a binding force to the evening.

Though this work completed its St. Louis run last night, it will be performed five times this summer at the Glimmerglass Opera in Cooperstown, N.Y. (which, along with the Sacramento Opera, commissioned the work), between July 17 and Aug. 6.

Britten's **Billy Budd** was offered in its first (1951) four-act version, never before heard in the US. The work is arguably too large for this space, but in Opera Theatre artistic director Colin Graham's strong production, the big choral moments had an impact impossible in a larger space. Though some of the one-on-one confrontations lacked a certain intensity, it was thrilling to see this opera up close in the St. Louis context.

Graham had a Captain Vere of exceptional quality and impact in Peter Kazaras, who has the ability to bring audiences to him, forcing them to experience Vere's moods and inner feelings. At the end, when the evil Claggart has been killed, Budd hung, and the aged Vere states that Budd was the means of his own redemption, the emotional impact is all but overwhelming.

The large cast performed with great commitment. Among the principals, Steven Combs embodied the innocence of Budd commendably, Jeffrey Wells made a compellingly blunt, evil Claggart, and Arthur Woodley a compassionate and effective Dansker. The other hero of this evening was conductor Robert Spano, presiding over a large contingent of the St. Louis Symphony with astonishing facility and dramatic conviction. Clearly this is a major opera conductor in the making. Yet even he could not compensate for that sonic muffling that occurs in the orchestra pit.

Graham's other production, Massenet's **Cendrillon** ("Cinderella"), was the glistening jewel of the season. This underrated work is, to me, the most enchanting and musically sophisticated setting of this perennial story. Graham's production stressed the psychological aspect of the story over the fairy tale at the expense of a bit of charm. But he scrupulously skirted the potential for sentimentality that too often passes for Massenet style these days.

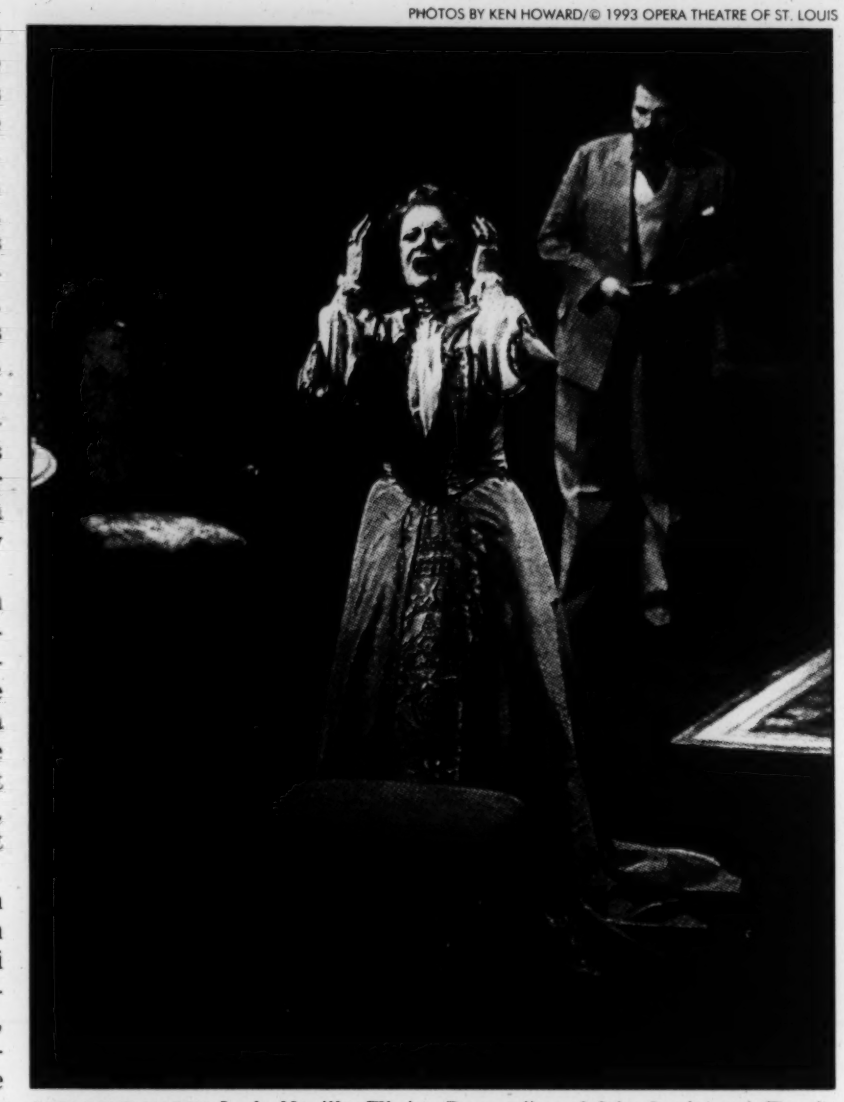
Brenda Harris's Fairy Godmother, the dominant personality vocally and histrionically, may not have been ideally mellifluous in her coloratura work, but she otherwise proved very expressive. David Evitts's Pandolphe was heartrendingly real. Josepha Gayer earned her laughs and ovation by refusing to make Madame de la Haltière an overbearingly hollow caricature. Susan Rosenbaum's Lucette (Cendrillon) was reserved yet effective; Mary Ann McCormick's Prince (Massenet wrote the role for a mezzo) had moments of genuine vocal splendor.

Conductor Carol Crawford kept things moving nicely, though she might have lingered more tenderly on the haunting melodies.

"Don Giovanni" proved to be musically superior, though visually and dramatically, it was depressingly unfocused. Opera Theatre music director Stephen Lord propelled the opera with panache and with a sure sense of both the drama and comedy in Mozart's sublime score.

■ *This is the final weekend for Opera Theatre this year. Tonight it's "Billy Budd," tomorrow "Don Giovanni" and "Cendrillon," and Sunday, the season closes with another performance of "Billy Budd."*

PHOTOS BY KEN HOWARD/© 1993 OPERA THEATRE OF ST. LOUIS



'MIDNIGHT ANGEL': *Lady Neville (Elaine Bonazzi) and John Lorimond (Brad Cresswell) in David Carlson's opera, which had its world première.*

'BILLY BUDD': *Steven Combs shines as the innocent seaman in the four-act opera.*

FREEZE FRAMES

A weekly update of film releases

By David Sterritt

■ **ONCE UPON A FOREST** – If the children of the 1990s grow up without a sense of ecological responsibility, it won't be the fault of Hollywood's animated-film business, which has made respect for nature a virtual crusade. The heroes of this feature-length cartoon are young "furlings," or animal children, trekking through the woods in search of herbs that will cure a young badger who's been poisoned by fumes from a chemical truck. The film rarely gets past familiar gimmicks of the cartoon-adventure genre, and the animation isn't very inspired. Most of the tale is reasonably engaging, though, and there's no quarreling with its message that people should tread lightly in the natural world. Charles Grosvenor directed the Hanna-Barbera production; some sequences may be too intense for the youngest children. *(Rated G)*

■ **WHAT'S LOVE GOT TO DO WITH IT** – The life, times, and career of singer Tina Turner, who achieved fame and fortune in the pop-music world at the cost of a painful and destructive relationship with Ike Turner, her husband and mentor. Brian Gibson directed this terrifically energetic and surprisingly thoughtful bio-pic. The film captures the physical and emotional violence of Ms. Turner's personal life without diminishing her dignity or losing sight of the social and cultural forces that kept her trapped in a terrible marriage. Angela Bassett gives a superbly versatile performance as the heroine, and Laurence Fishburne's portrayal of Ike Turner consolidates his status as one of the most expressive and intelligent actors in movies today. Also worth a cheer are the music numbers, which appear at just the right moments and make eloquent comments on the action surrounding them. Kate Lanier wrote the articulate screenplay, and Jamie Anderson did the vivid cinematography. *(Rated R)*

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ FRIDAY

Investigative Reports *(A&E, 9-10 p.m.)*: Many analysts see terrorism as a growing problem in the United States and other highly developed countries. "Terrorism: Target America" probes the complicated international structure that has set up for business the US, posing grim future threats. New York's recent World Trade Center disaster is one vivid example used by the show as it looks at how the FBI has dealt with terrorism in the past few years – partly by means of advanced training for some of its agents in Quantico, Va.

NBA finals *(NBC, 9-11:30 p.m., E.T.)*: Down 3-to-1 in the best-of-seven series, the Phoenix Suns face the Chicago Bulls in the latter's home court for Game 5 of the pro-basketball championship. Marv Albert is doing the play-by-play, with Mike Fratello and Magic Johnson providing analysis.

■ SATURDAY

US Open Golf Championship *(ABC, 1-6 p.m., E.T.)*: The next-to-final round is covered live from the Baltusrol Golf Club in Springfield, N.J.

■ SUNDAY

US Open Golf Championship *(ABC, 1-6 p.m., E.T.)*: Final round, live.

NBA finals *(NBC, 7-9:30 p.m., E.T.)*: Game 6 (if needed): Chicago Bulls at the Phoenix Suns.

East Wind, West Wind: Pearl Buck, the Woman Who Embraced the World *(PBS, 10-11:30 p.m.)*: She may have embraced the world, but most remember the late author for embracing China, and with a depth of understanding that makes her great novel, "The Good Earth," and other works so memorable. Her humanitarian causes were also notable, including a campaign to help Amerasian children reviled in both their parents' countries. A mix of interviews and remarks by China scholars are used in painting this portrait of the life and career of the only American woman to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Please check local listings for all programs.

Arab-American Family Straddling Cultures

By Merle Rubin

DIANA ABU-JABER'S vivacious, funny, and moving first novel, "Arabian Jazz," presents the Ramouds, an Arab-American family who have somehow ended up living in a run-down, largely poor white town somewhere north of Syracuse, N.Y. Matussem Ramoud and his two American-born daughters, Jemorah and Melvina, have spent much of their lives in the drab, often snow-bound town of Euclid – a long way from Matussem's boyhood home in Jordan. In some ways, they fit in; in other ways, they don't. As Matussem likes to tell his television-loving relatives back in the old country, "I don't care how many *Bonanza* you watch, nothing get your brain ready for real America!"

Matussem has a day job as a maintenance man, but his real passion is jazz. He and his combo play at a local dive, where they are billed as "The Big Band sound of Mat Ramoud and the Ramoudettes," much to the consternation of his level-headed daughters.

The grown-up sisters are still living at home and yet not feeling quite at home, torn between their Arabic heritage and their American environment. Their mother, Matussem's much loved and sorely missed American wife, died 20 years ago, when Jemorah was 9 and Melvina an infant of 2. Melvie, although younger, is less conflicted. She is affectionately and amusingly portrayed as one of those people who seem to know their own minds even as toddlers. Melvie has become what she set out to be – a nurse – and she is one of the best: an eagle-eyed, sharp-tongued, tough-minded professional who is out to save every life she possibly can.

Jem, seven years older, is much less certain of who she is and what she wants. Dreamier, less cut-and-dried than her formidable younger sister, Jem is a college graduate who has settled for an unrewarding office job. She has some desire to pursue a graduate degree in psychology. She is also secretly attracted to a very "unsuitable" local boy, a poor white high school dropout with wild sweet eyes, who works at a garage.

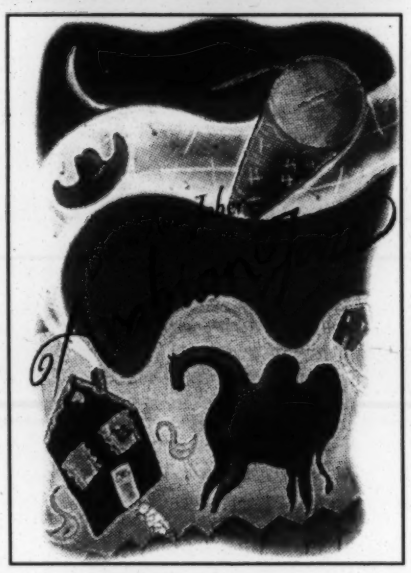
To the various members of the Ramouds' huge, extended family on both sides of the world – starting with Matussem's sister Fatima, who lives too close by for comfort – the mere existence of two unwed females is a crisis necessitating ever more drastic attempts at matchmaking. In a typical scene, Aunt Fatima drags a "suitable" candidate to meet her eligible nieces:

" 'These here nice Mr. Farah Farah come to meet you. Fifty-eight years of age and no wife ever. Pure and clean like a baby.'

'Now wait just one second.' Melvie was rising out of her seat, pointing at the man. 'Our father already brought this one home ten years ago!' "

Confrontations between the irresistible Fatima and the immovable Melvie are among the many uproarious scenes that demonstrate this writer's flair for comedy.

BOOKS



ARABIAN JAZZ
By Diana Abu-Jaber
Harcourt Brace
374 pp., $21.95

But as the novel gathers its momentum, Abu-Jaber deftly reveals the more serious undertones of the Ramouds' family story: The painful problems of prejudice and alienation beneath the comedy of culture clash, the flesh-and-blood people beneath the entertaining caricatures, and the tears that are sometimes concealed in laughter.

By the end of this provocative, diverting, and touching novel, the reader, as well as the Ramoud sisters, appreciates the wisdom of the advice from their Oxford-educated Jordanian cousin Nassir, a man who has thought long and hard about the experience of immigration and the different cultures he has been exposed to: "You're torn in two. You get two looks at a world. You may never have a perfect fit, but you see far more than most ever do. Why not accept it?"

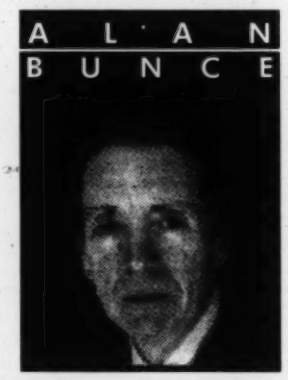
■ *Merle Rubin regularly reviews literature and contemporary fiction for the Monitor.*

The Bottom Line On TV Violence

I HAVE a question for the logicians among us – especially for the ones seeking that elusive "causal connection" between one thing and another.

Since some studies show that the average American spends a cumulative 10 years in front of the TV set, seeing countless acts of violence – shootings, explosions, fights, cars going off cliffs, and assorted mayhem – is it fair to conclude that viewers have been conditioned to consider these acts a normal part of life? And are they therefore more prone to violence – especially since TV violence often comes in the form of glamorous acts that trigger their adrenaline and suggest definitive solutions to almost all problems?

The answer is not nearly as obvious as it seems. For many decades, in fact, the "educated" response was "no.". In the late 1960s and in the '70s, I knew people who appeared on televised discussion panels pleading the cause of reduced media mayhem. All they were asking for was fewer gunshots and brawls per show. But they were virtually laughed off the panels – not by TV officials, but by psychologists and other academics who pointed, no doubt correctly, to an absence of statistical proof that the tube had anything to do with crime – juvenile or adult. (Never mind all those killings depicted. Can you prove they're having an effect?)



TV is only the latest phase, of course, in a long pop history of grisly content. Some parents may recall those kids' comic books that were gory beyond anything seen on network TV today. One villain, called something like "The Hatchet," gruesomely earned his sobriquet. On some kids' radio shows, death and destruction were staples. That's one reason why, on TV itself a few years ago, Saturday-morning cartoons seemed to be continuing the tradition with plots of almost unrelieved violence, not all of it comic or particularly "cartoonish" in its effect.

Yet today these animated TV shows tend not only to be less violent, but also rife with social awareness and political correctness. What happened? Network programmers succumbed to pressure. They saw opposition looming from activists and took the course of least resistance. Except in a few interesting cases, networks tend neither to break through social barriers nor to fall far behind what the general viewer considers barely acceptable.

But networks do like to test the tolerable just to see if a couple of rating points can be gained without a counterproductive backlash. And as their traditional broad base of viewers declines, networks have ventured far beyond the tolerable in an anxious search for survival. A Times-Mirror poll recently found that some 70 percent of Americans thought there was too much violence in TV entertainment. They may disapprove of it, but they watch it: Violent shows tend to get high ratings and are relatively cheap to produce. Networks find this lure irresistible and have been piling on the violence, especially during "sweeps" months.

Armed with the fact that groups like the American Psychological Association now concede a link between behavior and TV content, critics are sounding off, as they did during Senate hearings last week. The media itself has been reflecting on its own sins in shows like "TV Violence: Pulling the Plug," which aired last week on CNN. And industry people have decided to meet in August to deal with growing issue of TV violence.

Apparently the operative premise behind TV's social responsibility has begun to dawn on nearly all concerned: It doesn't matter if the TV-violence connection has been conclusively established. It doesn't even matter that network TV violence is tame compared with feature films and cable TV, where the true gore can be found. If airwaves are owned by the people and in effect "lent" to private groups with the proviso they operate them in "the public interest," it's perfectly fair to demand limits.

After all, TV was supposed to have done something about the problem by now. When Congress passed the Television Improvement Act of 1990, exempting TV for three years from certain antitrust laws, the industry was free to consult on how best to reduce violence. The deadline for improvement is December 1993, and almost any veteran viewer will attest that, far from improving, things have worsened since the early 1980s.

When the industry leaders have that conference in August about this problem, they need to take credible steps to correct it.

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My Stepkids: New Members Of the Tribe

PRIVATE COLLECTION/COURTESY OF CRANE KALMAN GALLERY, LONDON

I'M not the photographer my father was, but I've shot seven frames that leave me breathless and grinning. Eric's my stepson, but you might have a champion of your own; if you do, you'll understand.

It's an 800-meter race. In the first photo, Eric stands with his hands on his hips, feet slightly splayed, and one knee bent. He's gazing straight ahead with an expression so serious it might be grim.

Eric will turn 16 in two months, and he works hard to wear the mien of a man. He's also aware that I'm taking pictures and, like me, he's awkward around cameras.

As I zoom in, I worry how he'll feel if he loses. My last photo shoot caught him walking away from the final basketball game of his team's season: He'd played little the second half, and they'd blown a lead. I could feel the sadness in the muscles of his shoulder.

Like his mother and brother, Eric looks all leg. His twin sister is more reasonably constructed, though even she has the prehensile toes and seven double joints that distinguish her mother's family.

As for Eric's leggy look, it's deceiving.

Eric's all heart. All of him, save for a few places that generate laughter, courage, goodwill. I've known him most of his life, and those few characteristics fit him tighter than his track shoes. So as I watch, expecting disappointment, I hope he knows how much he's won in the world. In me, anyway.

In the second picture, Eric runs with the pack. He's easy to pick out with my eyes, dark gold on the field.

Tall as I am, though still a freshman, he's shortest on the track – but man, what a stride. I know even less about track than photography, yet I can see that he runs the ways he laughs, full out, headlong, all of him extended.

I START to laugh myself, watching him. From pure pleasure, that's all. Eric's older brother Marc has touched me this way, midflight on a soccer field, or an hour into some conversation about women and work and baseball cards; his sister has done it during an elaborate story she weaves that ought to be titled "Cathy Acting 26 Roles for No Apparent Purpose, but Here's the Dance Part."

For the third photo, I lean out over the rail. It's almost straight on, and I think Eric sees me as I focus.

He looks to be third, surging forward.

I shout as he passes – maybe that's why the next shot is so blurred. Eric's first of the runners in this narrow frame, both feet off the ground, head erect, leading even his shadow.

Three, two, one – *epiphany*. Suddenly I'm 14 again, standing on the tee above the fifth hole at Rolling Hills Golf Course. Below lies the green, but I am looking at my father, who has thrown his arms in the air and is about to embrace me. I'd hit a ball 140 yards with a seven iron for a hole-in-one. I don't savor the triumph: The only emotion I have is amazement that a person can feel as much joy as my father reveals on his face.

In photo No. 5, Eric leads everyone. Cathy is screaming in the bleachers behind me. Marc, Eric's coach now, is down on the field pumping his fist in the air.

Eric's hair streams out behind him in the sixth photo. Light washes his forward thigh and his left cheek. He is 10 yards ahead of the second-place runner, and pulling ahead.

The last photo shows Eric alone at the tape.

My father saw me play shortstop, read my first published story, and was featured in the second. As often as I saw the joy in his face, it never failed to astound me. Wonderous. So was the warmth of his arms as he cradled my failures in a gesture I remember as a physical murmur.

WHEN he died, I thought I'd lost the last man of my tribe, the only other person who spoke a special language. But while studying photos of my son, I feel my father inside me, remember his lesson, and hear the sound of his heart in my chest. It beats "my child, my child," and I think it means that I am not alone now, that I have champions of my own, new to the tribe.

Seth Norman

'THE FAST WALKER' (1984): *Oil on canvas, 36 by 30 in., by Mary Newcomb.*

Eric's all heart. All of him, save for a few places that generate laughter, courage, goodwill. I've known him most of his life, and those few characteristics fit him tighter than his track shoes.

To Celebrate My Father

If I could tell about the grapefruit, that would do.
How my father, slight and strong and knowing good,
would hold a solid yellow grapefruit in his hand and dig in.
He used his fingers.
He tore the rind, pulled the top away.
In no hurry, he peeled it all by slabs, played the simple pleasure
of separating what was *no* from what was *yes*,
doing it with his bare, deciding hands.
He would sing while shearing section from section.
He'd bite through the tough seam of each wrinkled veil.
Spitting out the pips and big gray seeds,
he took the bitter right along with every spurt of juice.
All was fine for him to chew to pulp and swallow, his singing
hardly slowing as he ate.

Naomi Myrvaagnes

A Power Saw Run By Grampy's Foot

THE boy who promised to come and help me with small chores, and didn't come, finally came, and we began cleaning up my shop. This Herculean undertaking was even more daunting than usual, since I had neglected it for some time.

After we cleared a place, we dusted off the benchsaw and pushed it against the wall, thus making a start, and I told the boy about the first benchsaw I encountered in my frivolous youth, and how I was too small to make it go. I'm guessing he believes I made this up.

My grandfather Thomas, the old soldier, had little talent with tools, and if he had to nail two boards together he'd get the nail crooked. But he did have, a century ago now, the first power tool in the county and a finesse with it that he was never able to carry over to shingling, fixing a sled bunk, or tightening a loose chair leg.

It was a benchsaw contrived by Slim Ormsby over at Skunk's Misery. Slim was gifted mechanically and produced many an improbable device, and was otherwise said to be "crazy as a coot." This down-Maine simile derives from the custom of a coot to fly

JOHN GOULD

25 miles around a peninsula when he wants to get to the next cove, a hundred yards away overland. Another way to say the same thing is to observe that somebody rows "with only one oar in the water." Slim was, accordingly, an inverted genius.

Slim's – my grandfather's – benchsaw was lost when the farm buildings burned, so you must take my word for it. Slim had the foot-treadle and frame of an early sewing machine for a beginning, and the bearings and arbor from a Pratt & Corliss butter churn.

This was rigged artfully with a grindstone for a flywheel – the basic idea for this contrivance being advanced by my grandfather, who wanted to make beehives. Slim, you can say, followed his specifications.

The circular saw blade was but five inches in diameter, and since it was custom-made at the Langmaid & Murphy Machine Works in Bangor, it was expensive – $1.35. Nobody had any notions then about an electric motor, or even electric power. By pulling on the grindstone, to get it rolling, Grampy could then catch the treadle with his foot and pump everything into motion. The only governor on the device was Grampy's foot. Because of the short arbor and the proximity of the grindstone, there wasn't room to rip a wide board.

Grampy made his beehive boxes and frames from basswood and pine – soft woods – which yielded somewhat to the persuasion of the saw. Hardwood slowed the grindstone down, proving that Newton knew what he was talking about. With the grindstone revved up and Grampy's foot at high speed, a basswood honey box could be ripped off before the grindstone quit.

At one time, my grandfather had an even hundred colonies of honey bees, with all the hives of his own making. Pine and basswood trees grew on his farm, so the only basic expense was the ax work. Hauling logs to mill took only a snowfall and time, and the Holford Mill was charging $3 a thousand. Grampy figured he could save almost $2 a hive by making his own.

The outside box of the hive, and the covers and bottom-boards, had to be cut to size with a handsaw – Slim's machine did have its limits. But the interior frames and the little one-pound basswood boxes for comb honey could be turned out on Slim's saw. Grampy kept it in the shed-attic and spent his rainy days there.

Several times I watched him work the saw, and while Grampy looked more like a monkey-on-a-stick than a craftsman, he did turn out brood frames in short order. And his work was good. Beehives and their parts must be interchangeable, and such is the nature of working with red-hot bees that a frame poorly made can cause regret. Under a hot August sun, there is small profit in arguing with a broodframe that is a 16th of an inch too snug. Grampy, as the apiarist, knew that he, as the joiner, must be precise.

Grampy always spoke highly of Slim Ormsby, pointing out that he not only made a good power saw, but that it would also sharpen a hand scythe if you didn't pump too fast. There is no such tool on the market today, and my boy who comes (sometimes) didn't know what a scythe is.

How Love Liberates

THIS week and next, a global conference on human rights is being held in Vienna under the auspices of the United Nations. Those attending it will be discussing the state of human rights around the world. It is the first conference of this type in twenty-five years. To many of us, human rights violations are illustrated by the news media reports of rape and murder in the former Yugoslavia. But this is not the only place where arbitrary detentions, disappearances, and the like are having a chilling effect.

Many good and worthwhile actions are being taken to help individuals who are struggling under these conditions. Some of us may be part of these efforts, and all of us can support them through our prayers.

To me, the outstanding example of how to overcome such evils is Christ Jesus. He faced the hatred of authorities who wanted to destroy him. But in his Sermon on the Mount, which is recorded in Matthew's Gospel, Jesus gives his followers, including us, new insight into dealing with those who hate them. He said, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven."

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

The record shows that Christ Jesus followed his own directions, even through the horror of the crucifixion. But does this mean that we need to love those who are committing atrocious crimes and seemingly getting away with it?

In a sense, the answer is yes, but what we are loving is never the evildoing. And the love that brings healing is divine, not simply human affection. Christian Science, which was discovered and founded by Mary Baker Eddy, teaches that the man God created is spiritual and good. The evidence often seems to dispute the spiritual facts, however, because we are seeing "through a glass, darkly" as Paul put it in his wonderful lesson on love in First Corinthians. Instead of the reality, which is the man God created, the world presents us with the rapist, murderer, torturer.

This false view of reality would also tell us that problems of this type can be solved only by a violent response—revenge, bloodshed, war. Mrs. Eddy has a substantially different view of what brings freedom, and she states it explicitly in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*. She assures us, "Love is the liberator."

What obscures our vision and keeps us from trusting divine Love, God, is the belief that man is actually material or is a combination of matter and spirit. The material element, what the Bible calls the "carnal" mind, keeps us from seeing our own—and others'—true, spiritual nature. This does not mean, however, that evil behavior comes from God or is part of His or our spiritual nature. Far from it!

It does mean that by recognizing man's spirituality, we begin to drive a wedge between the evil action and the individual: The more clearly we see that man is spiritual, the more certain we become that he could never do evil. As this distinction grows clearer, we see that the man God created is everyone's actual nature. Evil behavior isn't natural to anyone.

As we recognize this, we begin to understand that the perpetrators of such acts are as much prisoners as the people they are hurting. They are caught up in the belief that mortality is their fate, and that nothing can be done about it because God is absent. This grossly mistaken outlook is chillingly illustrated by a statement of one of the men who interrogated Jacobo Timerman when he was being held prisoner by the military regime in Argentina. In his book *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, he recounts that one interrogator said to him, " 'Only God gives and takes life. But God is busy elsewhere, and we're the ones who must undertake this task in Argentina.' " But God is never "busy elsewhere"; He is always present and actively caring for His creation.

Our prayers for improved human rights can vigorously dispute any form of the belief that God, divine Love, is absent or that any evil power can act in His place. Divine Love is infinite and no one can actually be cut off from it. No official regulations, no policies that move prisoners suddenly from one place to another (so none of their loved ones can find them) and other efforts of evil can keep Love's influence from being felt as a rejuvenating power to the prisoner and a redeeming demand on his keeper. The ever-presence of God, Love, means that no one can ever be cut off from the divine power to save and to heal.

The influence of divine Love takes many forms, but in each case its purpose is to redeem all who are willing to be redeemed and to free those who are held captive. Through our prayers, the world can feel more and more the influence of divine Love, which liberates all.

Whether this becomes evident through improved conditions for prisoners, more enlightened governments, or some change we can't foresee as yet, each of us can persist in knowing that divine Love is universal and all-powerful. It rolled the stone away from Jesus' tomb, and it will also open the prison doors.

BIBLE VERSE

Paul and Silas prayed,
and sang praises unto God . . . .
and immediately
all the doors were opened,
and every one's bands were loosed.
Acts 16:25, 26

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Second Wind for Clinton?

THE Clinton administration, beset by criticism from Capitol Hill Democrats as well as Republicans, has seemed to have little success with its executive and legislative programs.

But events in recent days have brought several rays of hope through the windows of the Oval Office.

Nomination of Federal Appeals Court Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg to the Supreme Court bench June 14, and indications that Senate confirmation was virtually assured, was the first good news for the president in some time.

On June 16 there was more good news: Democratic members of the Senate Finance Committee agreed on a combination of tax increases and spending cuts that are expected to bring passage of the president's deficit-reduction initiative within reach.

On the same day, Senate Democrats and the White House, with help from seven Republican moderates, were able to block a Republican filibuster, making it probable that Clinton-sponsored legislation aimed at revamping the financing of congressional elections will be enacted. And to top it off, the president's proposed national-service program for college-age youths was approved by large, bipartisan majorities in both the House Education and Labor Committee and the Senate Labor and Human Resources panels.

What goes on here? Actually, it's politics as usual, plus the inevitable maturing of a new president and a staff which, for a number of reasons, is "greener" in terms of Capitol Hill politics than the last two Republican administrations, or even that of Jimmy Carter, who also struggled through an "inside the beltway" initiation before settling down and accomplishing a number of goals in his single term – including the Egypt-Israel peace treaty.

Clinton is the same man who, when he headed the National Governors' Association, was recognized by fellow governors as an outstanding state leader. He stepped into his present position facing domestic and foreign-policy problems the extent and difficulty of which could hardly be fully anticipated.

He also carried the baggage of a very rough campaign, which he managed to win without a majority.

It is quite likely that in coming weeks we will see a more self-assured, well-organized President Clinton than we have up to now.

Between Power and Law

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV said the experience of reforming Soviet politics was like "walking through a sea of gasoline." Certainly Boris Yeltsin can say that about his ongoing fight to keep Russia united at a time when there is little agreement in Moscow or the countryside about what institutions hold power. Mr. Yeltsin survived a referendum on March 20 over his presidency and his direction of political and economic reform.

This week he won another crucial victory by lining up key political factions in an effort to create a new constitution.

A new constitution to establish law and authority in a chaotic Russia is greatly needed. Without it, private ownership of land, the guaranteeing of contracts and regulation of trade, and the relationship of the restless Russian republics to Moscow cannot be established. A constitution would create a system of legislative bodies and allow parliamentary elections to take place.

Yeltsin and a constitutional assembly have met since June 5 but until this week could not agree among various drafts. What caused the recent rallying to Yeltsin's side is not clear. His own draft argues for a strong Russian presidency, strong powers for the regions, and a weak central government. To get widespread support and bypass his conservative parliament, Yeltsin may have promised a greater degree of sovereignty for the republics. If so, this is something of a gamble since it is the 88 various regions and republics that are increasingly taking authority into their own hands. Once power is given to them, it will not be easy for Yeltsin to get it back.

Even during what seems like a "good week" for Yeltsin – where he got an agreement with Ukraine over splitting the Soviet Black Sea Fleet – the situation in Russia is not so stable. Washington can cheer Yeltsin on. But it can do little about the diminishing obedience to central authority. Power is devolving to regional councils – in politics, economics, and among local police. Serious decrees from Moscow are constantly ignored.

The oft-asked question in the West, Can Yeltsin hold on?, may be increasingly irrelevant. Yeltsin may stay in office but not in power.

A constitution still faces significant obstacles. Yeltsin needs a way to ratify it.

The Congress of People's Deputies probably won't, so a referendum may be needed. And the relationship of Moscow to the regions and the thorny question of the rights of non-Russians remain unclear.

Misreported Polling Data Fails an Informed Citizenry

MUCH is said about the importance of having an informed citizenry. But this objective gets shortchanged when Americans are being deluged with false or misleading information that often is presented as objective fact.

Two recent reports and the way each was handled illustrate the extent of the confusion that can result. "Eighty-one percent of teens report sexual harassment," was the shocking June 2 headline in USA Today. It told readers that "sexual harassment has reached 'epidemic proportions' in schools...," a conclusion based on a survey done by Louis Harris and Associates for the American Association of University Women's Educational Foundation.

The reader was able to learn, deep into the account, something that raised questions about both the report and its sensational beginning.

EVERETT CARLL LADD

Readers of some other papers weren't as well-advised: The Hartford Courant headlined its coverage, "Four of five teens sexually harassed in school, survey says," and nowhere cited anyone who questioned the data.

The survey was in fact flawed in a way apparent in the most cursory reading.

The questionnaire began by telling its respondents – public schools students in grades 8 through 11 – that sexual harassment could be perpetrated by "students, teachers, other school employees, or anyone else," and that it encompassed a wide range of acts.

You were being harassed, for example, if another student "made [unwanted] sexual comments, jokes, gestures, or looks," or, again unwanted, "showed, gave, or left you sexual pictures, photographs, illustrations, messages, or notes."

Now, if such acts constitute sexual harassment, the only surprising thing is that the proportion reporting their "victimization" at some point "during [their] whole school life" wasn't 100 percent. Growing up in the sheltered school system of Saco, Maine, in 1945-55, I sometimes heard jokes that attempted sexual humor so crudely, I found them a little offensive, and sexually explicit language in settings where I (and many classmates) found it embarrassing.

By lumping minor events such as being exposed to an unwanted sexual remark from another student, with major violations such as being coerced to have sexual intercourse, or sexual pressure from a teacher, the Harris survey for the AAUW's Educational Foundation does more than convey misleading information; it encourages the trivialization of a serious subject.

Neither the report nor any news account I have seen noted that the 81-percent figure was wildly out of step with the findings of other surveys.

For example, in a study of teenage girls done by Yankelovich Partners April 13-14 of this year, 29 percent said they had been subject to some form of sexual harassment by a peer. (Respondents supplied their own definitions.) This is hardly a number to encourage complacency, but it's also one far removed from the figure that captured the headlines.

The number of adults saying they have at some time been harassed sexually falls typically in the 20- to 30-percent range.

A second misleading survey report, just released, involves a study done for the Harvard School of Public Health by LH Research, on the subject of gun control. Newspaper accounts focused on the finding that a majority of Americans – 52 to 43 percent – now favor a total ban on the possession of handguns, unless a court explicitly grants an exception.

In releasing this extraordinary result the study's author, Louis Harris, observed that it was the first time a majority of Americans had ever been found to favor such a ban. Indeed it is. Readers should note that Mr. Harris no longer has any ties whatsoever with the company he founded and which still bears his name: Louis Harris and Associates. His present firm, LH Associates, is entirely separate from and independent of his original firm, and vice versa.

Harris attributed his unique finding – that a majority now backs a total ban on handguns – to a great "sea change" in public attitudes. In fact, the source clearly seems to be in the survey itself.

The question comes far into a long series in which respondents are presented with item after item involving guns and violence to children. Thus they are told that one death in every four among teenagers 15 to 19 years old comes from a gunshot injury, that gunshot wounds to kids aged 16 and under doubled in central cities between 1987 and 1990, etc.

After so extensively establishing a form of "response-set bias," the survey then asks its handgun ban question and gets its unprecedented – and predictable – result.

A huge amount of work has been done on gun control. Americans indeed want to see more restrictions, including mandatory registration, including mandatory registration of all types of guns and a ban on semi-automatic weapons – often called "assault" rifles.

But only a distinct minority, in the 30-percent range, say they would prevent civilians from owning either handguns, shotguns, or rifles. Unfortunately, some survey reports and other such purported findings simply cannot be taken at face value.

Consumers need to approach data skeptically, and the press needs to develop more effective means for assessing accuracy.

■ *Everett Carll Ladd is professor of political science at the University of Connecticut, executive director and president of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, editor of "The Public Perspective," and senior editor of "The American Enterprise."*

OPINION/ESSAYS

The White House Bosnia retreat shows a new approach to the US world role – balancing US power and commitment. The new doctrine is a mixed blessing.

The Clinton Doctrine: a New Foreign Policy

By Heinz A. J. Kern

AS administration officials reveal their decision not to intervene in Bosnia, a new foreign policy strategy of limited engagement has emerged – the "Clinton Doctrine."

Peter Tarnoff, undersecretary of state for political affairs, spelled out the grand strategy to reporters off-the-record on May 25. The approach is based on the idea that "our economic interests are paramount." The US must "define the extent of its commitment and make a commitment commensurate with those realities. This may on occasion fall short of what some Americans would like and others would hope for." Hence the White House decision not to intervene in Bosnia foreshadows some disengagement: "We simply don't have the leverage, we don't have the influence ... to bring to bear the kind of pressure that will produce positive results...."

Mr. Tarnoff conceded that such an approach will be "difficult" for allies to understand but that a new division of labor must be initiated: "We're talking about new rules of engagement for the United States. There will have to be genuine power-sharing and responsibility sharing."

Only threats against the continental US and those that can be dealt with effectively will be worth countering: "There may be occasions in the future where the United States acts unilaterally – if we perceive an imminent danger very close to home...."

Tarnoff admitted these limitations would undercut the ability of the US to champion human rights and democracy. On the question, "Are people dying because the United States could do a lot more if we wanted to?" he said yes. He then made the case for a lesser US role: "I am perfectly able to withstand criticism that we are abdicating power on this issue because I believe, and more importantly the President and the Secretary believe, that for more major international issues of this sort, where other regional players have a great stake, we should make very clear that we will play a role, we will have a leadership role, but we are not going to be so far out in front as to allow them to defer to the United States when it comes to making the very hard decisions on the commitment of men and women and resources."

Tarnoff's comments reflected President Clinton's campaign dictum that a successful foreign policy has to be based on a healthy economy. But the White House and Secretary of State Warren Christopher quickly downplayed Tarnoff's remarks. Mr. Christopher tried to counter the impression of a scaled-back US role by demanding more international engagement. He used the words "leadership" and "lead" 23 times in a speech in Minneapolis two days later. But this seemed more like damage control than a firm denial.

Actually, Christopher hinted of a new Clinton Doctrine on "Nightline" after Tarnoff gave his speech: "No, I think we're undertaking the role of the world's most prominent power. If we were really threatened by something, if our national interests were at stake ... of course we'd act alone.... A hierarchy of interests are involved ... in this kind of situation [Bosnia], a humanitarian crisis a long way from home, in the middle of another continent, I think our actions here are proportionate to what our responsibilities are ... in this post-cold-war period. We can't do it all; we have to measure our ability to act in the interests of the United States.... "

The similarity between the two men's remarks is striking. What Christopher himself enunciated as the Clinton Doctrine on the MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour June 1 is an attempt to bring – in Walter Lippmann's words – commitments and power into balance. Its most remarkable feature is that it reduces the US role as sole arbiter of international stability to "normal" great-power status. The retreat from global preeminence will include the US's disengagement from economic and political spheres of interest and from its universal commitments to human rights and democracy. Current international commitments have to be diminished to realistic levels, so that they are not exposed as bluffs tomorrow.

This policy is based on the assumption that the US no longer can afford to meet world-wide commitments – in terms of costs and risks – due to economic woes. Dealing with challenges posed by "middle weight" powers may overextend the country. Acknowledging the emergence of a multipolar world, the Clinton Doctrine concedes that the US has lost superpower status. In the future, international stability can only be maintained through cooperation. So unilateral US involvement will occur only where vital US interests, not those of allies, are at stake.

WHILE the US still has the world's most powerful military establishment, it has lost its economic and diplomatic leverage due to the desolate state of its economy and political culture. The US is ill-prepared to deal with a post-containment world. The realignment of national interests between emerging great powers – Japan, the European Community under German leadership, China, Russia, and the US – takes place on the economic and technological playing fields, not the military one. Therefore, America's predominately military means of influence is less important.

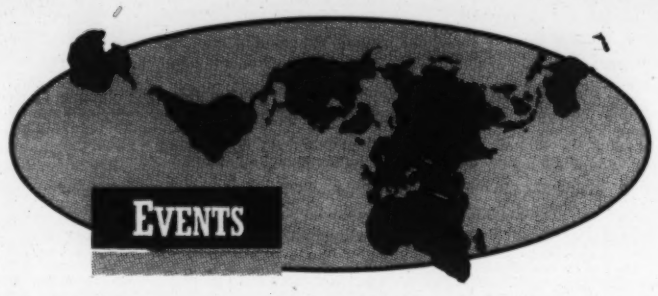
The merit of the doctrine is that it offers new realism. Modest US goals are matched with modest means. The national interest is defined in economic terms to allow a revival of the economy. To establish a "hierarchy of interests" shows that the administration understands that realignments of national interests will lead to new configurations of power and the dissolution of old alliances. The "nationalization" of America's economic interests has already ended attempts at establishing a liberal economic world order. Hence, the Clinton Doctrine's imperative is to design an active, economic foreign policy that makes inroads into foreign markets and shields the US economy from the negative effects of free trade with competitive nations such as Japan. The approach deserves credit for terminating Mr. Clinton's idealist notions of stopping ethnic cleansing in Bosnia as being in the national interest. Only areas where the national interest is truly ascertained – for example, democratic reform in Russia – will be supported. Overall, the Clinton Doctrine provides the strategic ordering principle for Clinton's three "overarching" foreign policy goals: revitalization of the economy, modernization of security arrangements, and promotion of democracy and human rights.

Implementing this doctrine may not be without problems. The administration may succumb to obsessive multilateralism. If the diminished role of the US would lead the administration to hand over every crisis to an international organization, this would jeopardize a US great-power role. But multilateralism should not be confused with seeking consensus and cooperation among great powers to further one's own national interest. To his credit, Christopher says only a "flexible diplomacy that uses the full range of bilateral, regional, and multilateral tools" can succeed. Christopher has promised leadership of the world's "most prominent power" with the caveat that not every crisis should become a choice between inaction and American intervention. If his foreign policy is informed by the principle "cooperation where possible, unilateral action where required," the administration will avoid the quicksand of multilateralism. Under this doctrine, intervention in Bosnia would be futile. But intervention against Iraq's takeover of Kuwait was a necessity.

A related danger is that Christopher will assume all conflicts can be resolved by compromise. Too many bargaining strategies may cause the US to forget that some interests can only be preserved without compromise or by use of force. It was Governor Clinton who said "power is the basis for successful diplomacy, and military power has always been fundamental in international relationships."

The price of the Clinton Doctrine could be more Bosnias. The world might become more insecure; this is tolerable only as long as it does not conflict with vital US interests. The Clinton Doctrine is a bold and needed attempt to face America's diminished role in a world with many challenges. Now the administration must implement it. This will not be easy. Diplomacy must substitute for the loss of economic and military might. America's allies needn't feel abandoned if they assume more responsibility. Only in this way can America lead. The doctrine should not be misunderstood as the precursor of a new isolationism. It should be seen as protecting the US from over-commitment.

■ *Heinz A. J. Kern is assistant professor of international relations at Boston University and deputy director of The Center for Defense Journalism.*



BOSNIA MEDIATORS ADMIT PLAN'S FAILURE

Conceding the failure of an internationally endorsed peace plan, mediators yesterday urged Bosnia's Muslim-led government to accept a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina among its three warring ethnic groups. European Community envoy Lord David Owen said the likely division of Bosnia would be "inferior" to the so-called Vance-Owen plan for 10 autonomous provinces. But he said the fighting on the ground afforded no alternative. "There is a tiredness of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and I think most people believe we've got to bring this to an end with as much honor as possible," he said.

US productivity down

The productivity of American workers fell 1.6 percent from January through March, the first decline in two years, the government said yesterday. But despite the overall decline, manufacturing productivity shot up 4.8 percent, including an 8.6 percent jump in factories that make long-lasting goods such as appliances. The Labor Department said the revised, seasonally adjusted decline in overall productivity was markedly greater than the 0.1 percent decline in its initial estimate last month.

Economists say that increased productivity is necessary to increase living standards and make American products more competitive in overseas markets.

Clinton approves logging

Environmentalists say the Clinton administration is pursuing a Northwest forest strategy that would allow logging within spotted owl reserves, a move they say would further damage the old-growth ecosystem.

Since the northern spotted owl was declared a threatened species in June 1990, most of the protection plans developed by government scientists have prohibited logging on government lands. The new management approach described to environmental leaders by Clinton officials Wednesday is favored by the timber industry and some scientists exploring ways to allow limited logging on those lands.

UN imposes Haiti embargo

Fed up with the recalcitrance of Haiti's military leadership, the UN Security Council on Wednesday gave the country's rulers one week to restore exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power or face an oil embargo and other sanctions.

The Haitian Army and elite are hostile to Mr. Aristide – a Roman Catholic priest popular among the poor – and have resisted pressure to accept his return. Hundreds of people were killed in the coup that ousted Aristide, Haiti's first democratically elected president.

The Security Council brushed aside a halfhearted attempt by Haiti's parliament to blunt sanctions. The parliament on Tuesday recognized Aristide as Haiti's legitimate leader but refused to set a date for his return.

India's Rao backed

Indian Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao's Congress Party expressed confidence in his leadership yesterday after he was accused of taking money from a flamboyant broker at the center of India's biggest financial scandal. Mr. Rao has flatly denied charges that he took a $320,000 undeclared campaign contribution from the broker at his residence, days before he won a crucial parliamentary by-election.

Most opposition parties have called for Rao's resignation, but the prime minister appears ready to ride out what he terms the broker's malicious and unfounded charges.

Malawians demand ouster

Life President H. Kamuzu Banda huddled with aides yesterday, while opponents called for his resignation following a non-binding referendum that rejected his one-party rule. Final results showed 64 percent of the 3.1 million voters preferred a multiparty system over the iron-fisted rule imposed by Mr. Banda since he gained power at Malawi's independence from Britain in 1964.

Banda, believed to be in his 90s, has long said his people prefer a one-party system reminiscent of traditional African tribal rule by chieftains.

The opposition has demanded parliamentary and presidential elections by December, confident they would oust Banda and the Malawi Congress Party.

– Compiled by Scott Baldauf

DON'T TAX YOU, DON'T TAX ME, TAX THAT FELLOW BEHIND THE TREE...
LOBBYISTS
AFTER ALL, WHAT'S THE FUTURE EVER DONE FOR US?
DANZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor

College Grads: Get Moving and Get Focused

Your front-page article "Looking For Work: Old College Tie May Not Suffice in Job Market," June 7, was accurate but incomplete. First of all, facing a grueling job search after college is nothing new. After graduating in 1987 with an advertising degree from Michigan State University, I worked for seven months as a "temp" before finding full-time work in my field. The problem, I later learned, was neither the economy nor the advertising industry; it was not even a lack of credentials on my part. My job search simply lacked focus. This same statement holds true for many 1993 graduates.

In the marketing firm where I worked for nearly five years after graduation, we would receive hundreds of résumés for a single entry-level position. More often than not, however, our search proved fruitless. When we asked candidates why they wanted this particluar position, most of them had no idea. These candidates often boasted good grades and experience, but when it came to what we, the employer, cared about most – what these candidates offered our company – they drew a blank. Other business leaders across the country have had this same frustrating, recurring experience.

So if there's such a surplus of job-hunters, as the article suggested, why is it so difficult for employers to find good employees? The problem is not a "tougher labor market," the problem is a mismatch between workers and jobs. While this problem affects both employer and employee, it is the job-hunter who must take responsibility for correcting it.

The solution, then, is not to wait for things in Washington to improve. Nor is the solution to send out more résumés (which, by the way, employers hate to read). My advice to job-hunters and even those still in college is to treat the job search like a full-credit class. If you wait outside for conditions to improve while denying your own power to take charge of your career, you will be bitterly disappointed – and more likely, you will be underemployed.

Gina DeLapa ***Grand Rapids, Mich.***

Proof required

I take exception to the Opinion-page article "A Gift From a Justice to the People," June 1. The author asserts, "That the life story of Thurgood Marshall without the court papers was not worth the advance speaks volumes about the mindset of book publishers when it comes to African-Americans." The mindset probably was one of business realities. The sales of "dirt" material stay firm, even when the market for other material declines.

D. L. Hatheway ***Augusta, Maine***

LETTERS

Not even mushrooms are safe

Regarding the article "Pacific Mushroom Business Attracts Tax Evasion, Competitive Violence," June 1: We might do well to pause briefly before we again exploit the forests of the Northwest. Disturbing the mycelium that puts forth the fruiting bodies we call mushrooms not only impairs future mushroom "blooms," it also damages the forest matrix itself.

Webs of mycelia connect, in interdependent relationships, all things that grow in the forest. To upset them with rakes and leaf blowers searching for mushrooms is akin to trying to pick apples by breaking branches off the apple tree.

Exporting mushrooms from public lands will generate the same kind of unwanted pressure that exporting unprocessed logs did. Our forests are proffering untold riches for our wise enjoyment. Can we marshal the wisdom?

Kurt E. Volckmar ***Garberville, Calif.***

Thoughtful commentary

Reading the editorial "Unity and Leadership," June 1, reminds me of why the Monitor is the only newspaper I read. Today, it is indeed rare to see a newspaper that pursues solutions instead of sensation, and self-examination instead of self-aggrandizement. Thank you for being there. The world has need of you!

Richard D. Soulé ***Vista, Calif.***

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.